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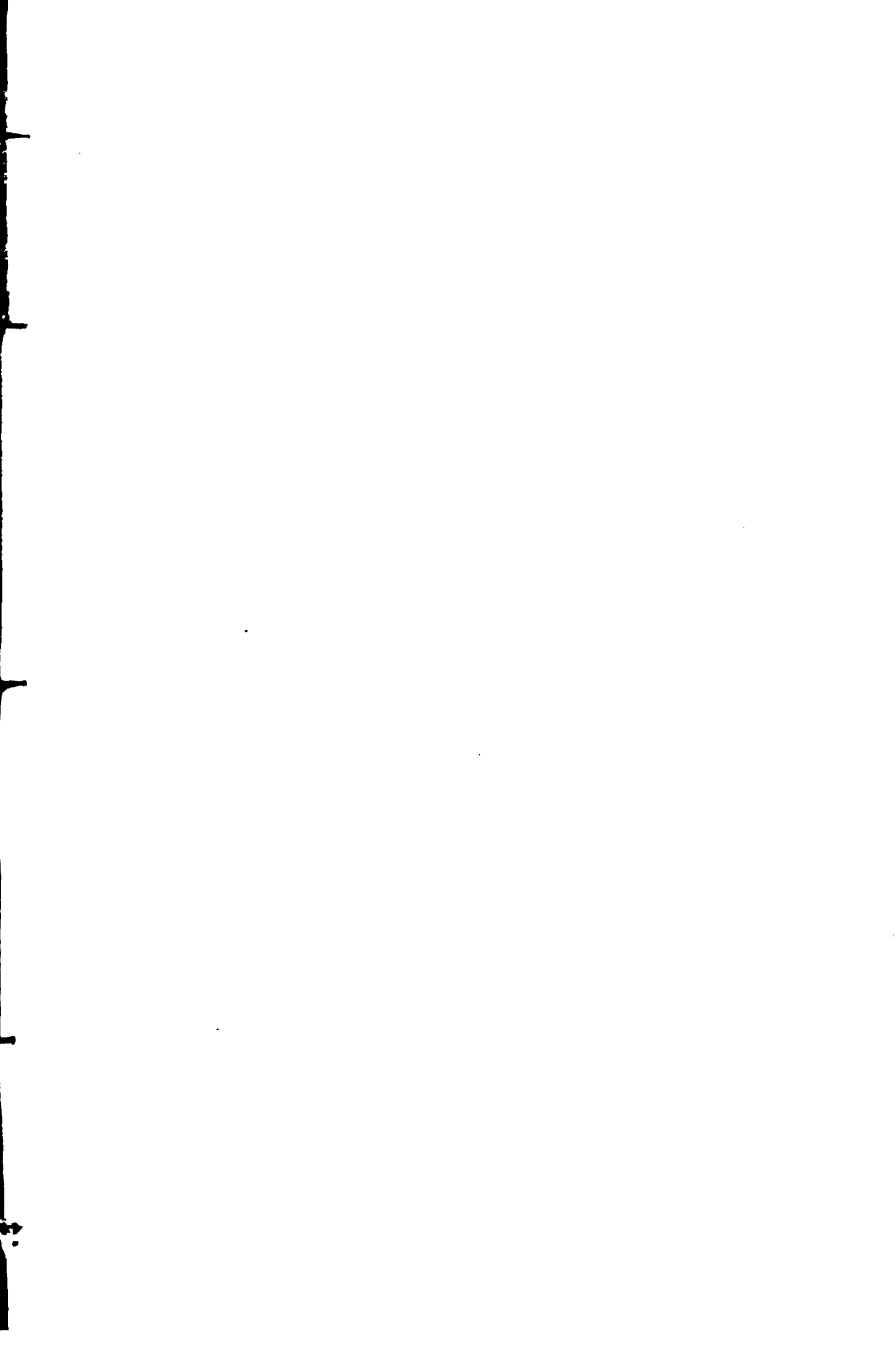
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*Samuel B. Wright*

# A PRACTICAL TREATISE

ON

## LABOR.

BY

HENDRICK B. WRIGHT.



NEW YORK:

*G. W. Carleton & Co., Publishers.*

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## DEDICATION.

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To you, laboring men of my own native county of Luzerne, I respectfully dedicate this volume.

As my sole purpose in writing it has been with a view to your benefit and the amelioration of that class to which you belong, it seems to me appropriate that this work should be dedicated to you. If, therefore, in your spare hours from daily toil, you shall find anything upon its pages to instruct or interest or even lead you to the investigation of those great principles of liberty and equality which the constitution and laws of our common country proclaim, I shall feel satisfied that my time has not been employed in vain.

I have not the vanity to believe that this book has any especial claim to literary excellence. The ideas were thrown off as they occurred to my mind, with little regard to order or classification; written in

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plain, comprehensive language, with a much greater desire to embody substance than observe rhetorical rules. I trust they will merit your approbation. In the absence of superior style in the composition, give me credit for honesty of design, and let me indulge the hope that, in the future as in the past, I may merit as well as retain your friendship and regard.

THE AUTHOR.

WILKES BARRE, PA., *April 24*, 1871.

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## PREFACE.

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THE contents of this volume were written in a series of articles under the signature of "VINDICATOR," for the *Anthracite Monitor*, a weekly paper, published in the County of Schuylkill, Pa., and the accepted organ of the working-men of the anthracite coal-field of Pennsylvania. It was not the intention of the author, when these articles were published, to prepare them in book form. This was an afterthought, or perhaps the subject would have been better classified and more condensed.

A large number of the more intelligent part of the mining people, who read the numbers as they appeared weekly, in the *Monitor*, urged their republication in the present shape. The matter remains the same in substance, though some additions have been made, and some slight changes in the original

text. As a whole, however, the book is a reprint of the series as they were first published.

The treatment of the subject has somewhat of a local character, and is designed more especially for the men of the mines, than for those engaged in other manual-labor employments. Hence the questions of strikes, and particularly what is called "basis," have almost exclusive application to miners. These questions, therefore, of which I have spoken at considerable length, have a local application; and these involved a notice of other correlative matters, such as miners' customs, State laws, and usages and regulations belonging almost exclusively to the coal trade. But inasmuch as the subjects of co-operation, tariffs, excise laws, the "eight-hour labor system," Chinese immigration, and other general topics, which have a material bearing on all the industrial pursuits and occupations, are discussed and criticised in this volume, the Author bespeaks for it the consideration of the working men of other localities than the mining region.

He has no apology to make for the appearance or the merit of the book, and is indifferent as to any criticism that may be passed upon it. He has accom-

plished the end he had in view, in advocating as well as vindicating the rights of the laboring masses, and with their good opinion he will incur the risk of publishing the volume. An expression of this good opinion he has already had as the original numbers came from the press. This, however, is not said in any defiant spirit, for that would be exceedingly absurd. He has spoken as he felt.

It may be said that capital has not been treated with all the respect due to it; this, however, may be altogether a matter of taste. Capital is as much entitled to respectful consideration as labor, while it is within the restraints of those limits which a well-regulated and prosperous society will always impose. But when it passes over this natural boundary and thus unavoidably comes in direct conflict with labor, then there is no reason or justice in silence. There is nothing about it so sacred as to relieve it from censure when in the wrong. Capital and labor should move along hand in hand. The prosperity of each is dependent upon the other. This principle has been enjoined and enforced throughout the volume, and Agrarianism openly condemned.

The Author, while advocating the elevation of the



social condition of the laboring classes, has carefully abstained from the inculcation of any doctrines subversive of law and order. To have done so would have darkened the unobtrusive paths of the working men of the land ; it would have been in bad taste and productive of evil. He would thus have been the instrument of defeating the very object he had in view, and one that was, of all others, the nearest his heart.

He has also carefully avoided everything which would tinge the subjects discussed with a political coloring. In treating of the political aspect of labor he has, as a matter of course, had those questions to deal with which have been more or less entangled with political issues by party men. It has been almost impossible to sever these questions from party. Still as subjects of political economy, and bearing upon the great question of labor, he has endeavored to speak of them, and deal with them, wholly independent of party bias. Abstract questions, with which your mere politicians should have nothing to do, and which are blended with the general welfare, are necessarily public topics.

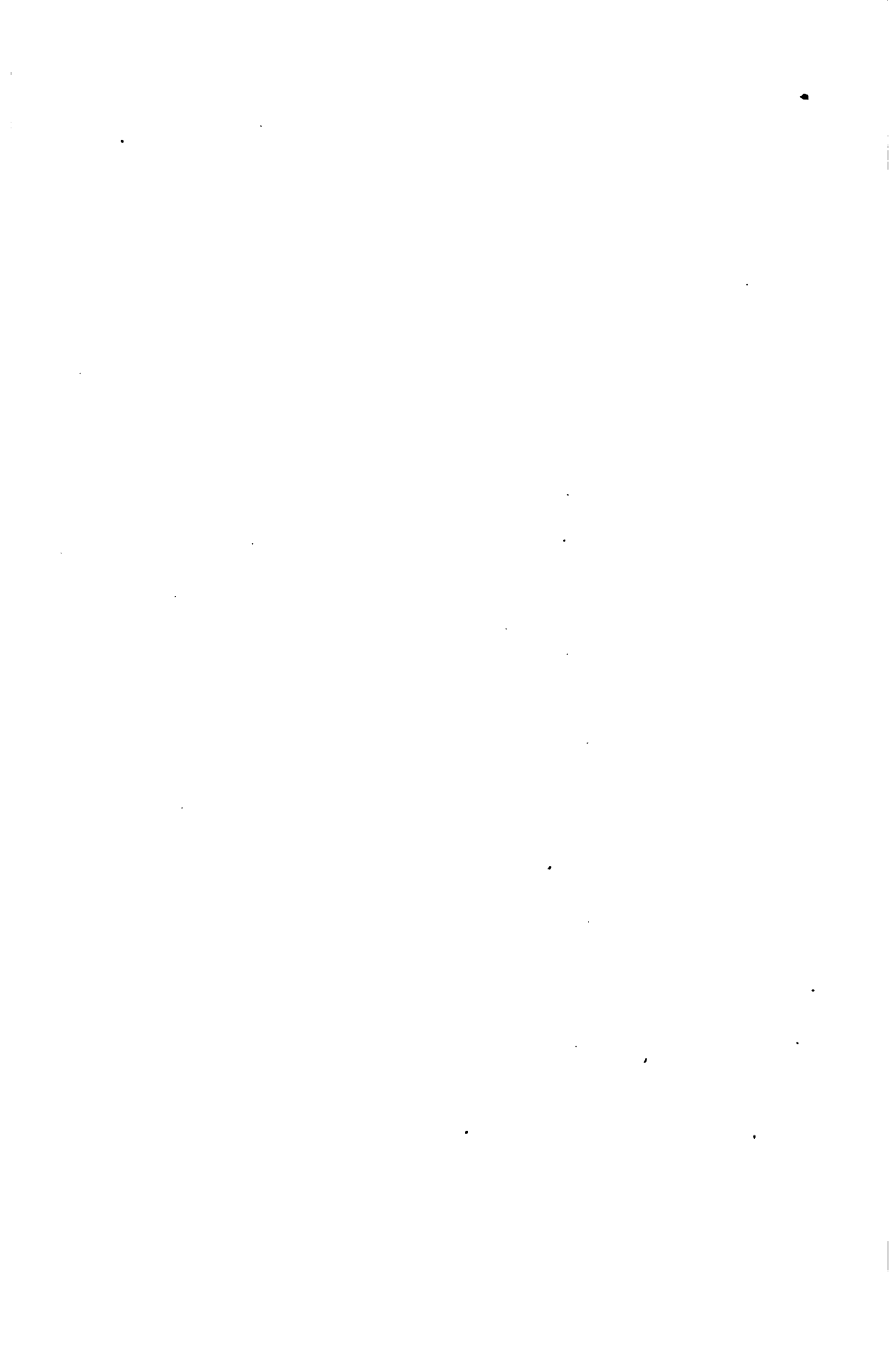
Of these measures he has spoken plainly and in a

manner easy to be comprehended, but not with reference to their party bearing. He has neither counselled nor advised the laboring classes as to their duty on party issues, but has rather discouraged them from becoming political adventurers.

The object and design of the work is to inform the laboring man of his civil rights, and urge upon him the occupation of that position to which in this country, above all others, he is legally entitled;—to urge that he is a peer and equal among all men, and being so, that he should realize it, and feel it, and show it, in his intercourse with the world.

Therefore the book with its merits—if it have any—and faults—which it undoubtedly has—is presented to the public,—composed with especial reference to the mighty question of labor, and for the instruction of a large and meritorious class of people—it must, like all other experiments, take its chances of success or failure.

WILKES BAREE, PA., *April*, 1871.



# INTRODUCTORY.

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## CHAPTER I.

I PURPOSE to write a few pages on the subject of LABOR, and of the rights as well as duties, public and private, of laboring men.

My object will be to speak of labor as connected with the mining, commercial, agricultural and manufacturing interests of the country; of laboring men — the position which they are entitled to under our system of government, and of their legal, political, religious and social rights.

I hope to deal with these questions with all candor and fairness, as I am not particularly interested in or dependent upon any branch of the industrial pursuits, save so far as I am concerned as a citizen in the general welfare, and I do not therefore apprehend that prejudice will warp my judgment or mystify my conclusions. I am quite certain that this will not be the case, as I am unaware that

there is any cause, present or remote, to influence me otherwise.

I shall speak also of the relative positions of labor and capital, and the mutual dependency which each has upon the other, — a dependency which should be observed in order that both may be benefited, — and the absolute necessity of perfect accord between them; — speak of the duties of the working man to the State, and of the obligations in turn which the State owes to him; — of the necessity of his being well paid for his toil, well fed and well clothed; — of his family, and the necessity, in a free country, that his children should be properly educated; — of his domestic relations; — of his temptations to commit crime, and how it may be prevented; — of co-operative measures, strikes and “basis”; and in short of those matters and things which are interwoven with and inseparable from the occupations of his life, and in which are involved the man’s social advancement as well as that of his family and class.

In early life I labored upon my father’s farm. This brought me in contact with laboring men. To know men you must associate with them. It is intercourse and daily contact with people of this or any other class that enables us to judge of their character and qualifications, whether as merchants, mechanics, miners or philosophers.

The field, the workshop and the mines furnish a better school for obtaining the correct knowledge of man than academies and seminaries of learning. And this is the most important knowledge that can be acquired. So thought Pope, and such has become the deliberate and accepted opinion of the successful men of the world. Theoretical, compared with practical knowledge amounts to but little. All the books in the world cannot teach the apprentice to draw a furrow. It seems exceedingly simple, and yet he who can do this well must have learned from practical experience how to handle the plough; he must have walked many, many miles after it. Nor will any amount of theory teach you how to draw out and forge a horse-shoe nail.

If you would know men you must associate with them. And how, pray, can we judge correctly of a whole class of our fellow-citizens unless we obtain, through intercourse with them, the knowledge which alone enables us to form a correct opinion? Without this our opinion is of no value.

And thus it is that we so often find working-men misjudged by those who fancy they occupy a higher social position. What custom denominates and fashion establishes as the higher order of society, unfortunately does not always include those elements which are necessary to confer this title. Money, in this

country, has more to do in making rank than brains, and ignorance and money are very often united. Strange it is to say, that that class which claims a social position above labor makes and fashions the public taste as well as the grades of social life, claiming to be in the same relative position that the Patrician order held in the Roman commonwealth towards the Plebeian.

Now, while it is not my object to find fault with weak-minded people who, through accident, may have become independent, as we term it, I may be permitted to question their judgment; for it is this class most generally who underrate the true status of the laboring man. One fact, however, they ought to know, for there are visible traces of it everywhere; and that is, that the great majority of persons who have been successful as merchants, manufacturers, or in other industrial pursuits, have sprung immediately from the people, and owe their success to the early training they have received in very humble life and the knowledge they have gleaned in their intercourse with the laboring masses. It was here they acquired that practical, common-sense view of men and measures which is nowhere else taught. And above all they learned the wholesome lesson that labor is not disgraceful; that the laboring man is not less the man because of his daily toil, and that

the occupation does not fix nor establish the grade of intellect.

The mere fact of the ownership of land, money, stocks and bonds, does not confer brains. Let those who think so read the works of Hugh Miller, the Scotch stone-mason,—of Elihu Burritt, the New England blacksmith, or of Benjamin Franklin, the printer, and they will conclude that labor and the highest grade of human talents are not incompatible. The scientific researches and bold conceptions of these men overturned the established theories of science which had met with the acquiescence of the world for twenty centuries. Let them read the masterly speeches of Burgess and Sherman, practical mechanics, who by dint of industry and perseverance became famous in their day and generation. Let them read the talks of Logan and Red Jacket at the Indian council-fire, whose eloquence would have given tone to the round and lofty sentences of Burke and Sheridan. Let them go into that grand emporium where are deposited the living evidences of mechanical invention and skill, the patent office at Washington; or let them visit the great West End of the metropolis of New York, and behold there long lines of palatial residences of the merchant princes of that city, nine-tenths of whom are men who have risen from the humblest walks of life. The



key which unlocked the door to their success was forged by primitive hands, but hard and solid. The knowledge which led to fortune was the knowledge of man, acquired in early life amidst the conflicts with what the world calls common men.

Plain, practical knowledge, good, sound common sense — these are the arguments with which to confront the world; these are the arms and the military chest for the campaign of life, and happy is the man who has the understanding to know how to avail himself of them.

Nor do books confer brains; they may give polish, but they lack the creative power; that is God's prerogative, and He is exceedingly jealous of His power.

The men who give tone and character to the great city of New York to-day — who control the press, who fill the pulpits, who crowd the forum, who throng the mercantile marts — are all what are called self-made men; and it is this same class in town or country throughout this vast continent whose views and opinions upon law or gospel, commerce or manufactures, politics or literature, establish, control and regulate public sentiment; and it is well for the country that such is the fact. These are but the type of men they left behind them.

The poor miner delving in the dark, subterranean chambers of the coal-pit, a thousand feet below day-

light, with lamp and pick, earning his daily bread literally by the sweat of his brow, may be as rich in the power of intellect as they who sway the senate or bring down the wild huzzas of the multitude in the forum. Accident and not merit may have drawn the dividing line. Good luck or good fortune, nine times out of ten, makes the difference in our respective stations in life. The sceptre and the iron collar are sometimes in such close proximity, that the same blow unrivets this, and knocks that to atoms.

The diamond in the rough has all the elements of intrinsic value before it reaches the lapidary's hands. He may make a brilliant lustre upon it, but it is still the same diamond. The labor bestowed in the full development of the gem does not add one part in the thousand to its value. The laboring man may be polished by the appliances of polite society, and the scrutinizing decree of higher social life may add a thousandth part to his position, but who is benefited? Educate him to believe that labor is disreputable, and you war not merely upon the best interests of your country, but upon the eternal decree of God Himself.

From that remote day when Adam wended his way sulkily out of Eden, to the day when Hugh Miller made the discovery of the footprints of the Almighty in the "old red sandstone," this has not been changed, nor will it till the sun sets for the last time on

earth, if that time shall ever be. The same to-day as before the Flood, and for tens of thousands of years before it, it is God's decree that man shall labor, and those who do are of His nobility.

Idleness and its twin brother, dissipation, are no part of the economy of the creative power. Action develops the man, not less his physical than his mental powers. This is as necessary as sunshine to the vegetable kingdom. It is the corner-stone of the living, breathing tenement of man. It gives strength to the frame, hue and color to the cheeks, expansion to the chest, and volume to the lungs. Employment, steady, daily employment, is the only guarantee of health, the solace of life, and the only true avenue leading up to honor and renown;—the strong argument against the scaffold, the penitentiary, the almshouse and the asylum; the only true sphere in which man can move with dignity, and fulfil the ends of his destiny.

There are, of course, other occupations than manual labor. I do not pretend that they should not be pursued or respected, nor would I knowingly be the means of exciting the prejudices of the laboring class against the persons engaged in such occupations. It is idleness and dissipation which I condemn.

I would place manual labor where it belongs, *i.e.* upon an equality with all other employments.

I have labored as hard in my present occupation as I did in bygone years in the harvest-field and other manual duties upon the farm. I felt then entitled to the same degree of respect that I have felt, in after years, in the pursuit of a learned profession. I rejoice now that it was my good fortune to have been bred to the plough. It gave me habits of industry; it expanded my chest, it strengthened my sinews; it laid a solid foundation for good health in after years. Nay, it did more than all this in bringing me into immediate connection and association with that great body of men who do the hard work of the nation; fight its battles; amass its wealth; stamp its character among the nations of the world; fill its treasury and give it all its power and vitality.

What an opportunity was this! Compare these advantages for a start in the world with the examples and precedents which are set by men upon 'Change, dealers in money and securities, among whom the clearest title to manhood is measured by his "sharpness" in business, which literally means, making the most out of every enterprise and closing the eyes to any question of morality that may possibly arise. Shylock became immortal, and so did the money-changers in the Temple; but such immortality a sensible man would scarcely desire.

There is but little doubt that money is fast assuming

the stamp of nobility in this land. Labor is becoming more and more disreputable, or let me say, decidedly vulgar. The man who lives by sharp practices, who scruples not at taking the widow's mite, if "it is so written in the bond," and becomes rich as Dives, is the centre of attraction. His robes cover up, while they do not entirely conceal, an ocean of moral deformities. He is tolerated because he is rich, and honest rusticity in homespun must stand aside. If he evade or transgress the laws, it is too often the case that punishment never overtakes him, while the unpretending, humble citizen is made an example for a like offence.

I am not the advocate of that levelling principle as to property which would end in agrarianism ; a system of political ethics which rewards idleness and crime and removes all inducement to industry and virtue — by no means ; but I would create a barrier, if possible, which would prevent those bad influences upon the public morals, now gradually weakening the foundations of our governmental system, which arise from those unscrupulous measures flowing so profusely from money improperly used. We see these influences in legislation, — in the administration of justice, and in the haughty and overbearing displays of a "shoddy money aristocracy,"

This feeling of contempt for those who compose that large industrial class of people has given rise to the idea which we not unfrequently hear, — that a demo-

cratic form of government can only be sustained by a people of plain and simple habits; that, as in the ancient Roman commonwealth, it was the Patrician power that destroyed it through corruption, so it may possibly be with this. But with our education it is to be hoped that, if the multitude have bad examples placed before them, they will have virtue enough not to let slip from them the best of governments and the best of laws, when they have in their own hands the power of reformation.

Republican government is the one of all others best suited to the wants and necessities of men, but republican government is based upon the laws of equality. Under it the sword has but little to do — the voice of the majority everything. It is vain, therefore, to assert that equality exists where money is encroaching upon the popular rights. When the great mass of the people see and feel that their privileges are not properly respected by those who hold in their hands the money of the country, they will necessarily become restive.

The law of the majority is the law of wisdom. It is tolerated by consent — the common consent of all. By it the voice of one man is equal only to that of any other. How important, therefore, that all the balances should be equally preserved; and this can only be done by mutual confidence and mutual respect of all, without regard to the occupation or employment of any one particular class.

Now the pinch of the case, in lawyer's phrase, is the assumption of rank, on the score of property, without regard to intelligence or virtue. In this case, the person of inferior rank, because he has less money, though generally more brains, begins to hesitate and doubt as to the propriety of the majority rule. But for the great sheet-anchor of popular intelligence which we possess in our system of education, there might be cause to despair of the republic. The informed populace will conclude that it is far better to submit to the encroachments of the money power than to forego the rights and immunities which flow from their form of government. In other words, the strong common sense and practical views of the masses, which they have received through the common schools of the land, will guard them from the commission of those errors which, without a proper education, might lead to bad results.

This difficulty did not exist in the primitive days of our ancestors. There were then no causes for jealousy, because class and rank had not arisen. They were all poor, all industrious, all struggling for an existence; then office went a-begging because it was honestly administered, and therefore would not pay, and consequently there was not the least trouble in observing and practising the equality rule. Then no one felt himself above his neighbor, unless upon the score of personal excellence. The homespun coat of those days was not

a badge of inferiority. Franklin made it very respectable in presence of kings and princes of European courts. The military dress-coat of Washington, in a pretty good state of preservation at this day, at the national capital, would hardly pass current upon Broadway in these progressive times, even if a miracle were to bring back that great man, and he were to appear there in that self-same garment.

In answer to all this it may be said that times have changed. I shall not deny the assertion; but have they changed for the better? For the better, I mean, in view of the perpetuation of this, our matchless form of government. I much fear that our American definition of progress is at fault.

I should define it, as it is generally accepted, as a morbid desire to get rich, without much regard to the means to be used, a dislike to labor because it is not respectable, and a full and thorough belief in the idea, that money approaches as nearly to nobility as it is possible, in the absence of the genuine thing itself.

The good old days of primitive simplicity are gone, and probably forever. Those were days in which a "strong government" was not deemed to be necessary.

Alexander Hamilton advocated the theory of clothing the Federal government with more power, and predicted in strong language the difficulty which would be very likely to arise from placing too much power with



the States and the people. But he did not seem to have anticipated the evils which would arise from the individual wealth of the nation. To some extent, difficulties which he suggested have occurred, though resulting from different causes than those he assigned; upon the principle that we not unfrequently find that judicial decisions are true expositions of the law, though the judicial opinion may be drawn from false premises.

The majority of the people of his own day was incredulous as to the truth of his doctrines. They were condemned. It was really capital that was more to be feared than the misconception of what really constituted true and genuine liberty by the masses. And herein we think he was in error, though his authority is entitled to the highest respect. His ideas of a strong government have not yet, and probably never will, square with the popular judgment.

Follies and vices have crept into the body politic, and the bad examples of accidentally rich people have done much harm. Our ancient republican simplicity, manners, and customs are obsolete. If we have not the inclination or ability to retrace our steps, we should at least make a bold and determined effort to stop where we are.

To my mind, the most available if not the only means is to make an effort to elevate and improve the status of the laboring men of the country, by the pay-

ment of liberal wages, and thus enabling them to live more comfortably and respectably, and affording them means for the proper education of their children. This will pave the way to a higher social grade than they now occupy. Holding the power which they do, by their great numerical strength, it is right that they should advance in those social and more refined manners which the arbitrary decrees of the nations and peoples have established. Not that they are either necessary or proper, but because we cannot get rid of them — like a piece of the machinery that is useless, but cannot be separated or removed from the rest without damage to the structure. Holding the political power of the country in their hands, should they ever choose to violently exercise it, there comes the necessity for a high-toned popular sentiment.

In 1682, William Penn, as governor of his new Province of Pennsylvania, issued a proclamation accompanying his frame of laws, stating amongst other things, with great truthfulness and force, that “any government is free to the people under it (whatever be the frame), where the laws rule, and the people are a party to those laws, and more than this is tyranny, oligarchy and confusion. But when all is said there is hardly one frame of government in the world so illy designed by its founders, that in good hands it would not do well enough ; and story tells us that the

“best, in ill ones, can do nothing that is great or good.  
“Governments, like clocks, go from the motion men  
“give them, so by them they are ruined too. Where-  
“fore governments rather depend upon men, than men  
“upon governments. Let men be good, and the govern-  
“ment cannot be bad ; if it be ill, they will cure it.  
“But if men be bad, let the government be never so  
“good, they will endeavor to warp and spoil it to their  
“turn.

“I know some say let us have good laws, and no mat-  
“ter about the men who execute them ; but let them  
“consider that the good laws do well, — good men do  
“better ; for good laws may want good men, and be  
“abolished and invaded by bad men, but good men will  
“never want good laws nor suffer ill ones. A loose  
“and depraved people (which is to the question) love  
“laws and administration like themselves.

“That, therefore, which makes a good constitution  
“must keep it, viz. : — men of wisdom and virtue, qual-  
“ities which, because they descend not with worldly  
“inheritance, must be carefully propagated by a virtu-  
“ous education of youth, for which after ages will owe  
“more to the care and prudence of founders, and the  
“successive magistracy, than to their parents for their  
“private fortunes.”— *Colonial Records*, vol. i., p. 23.

The sturdy, inflexible old Quaker and philosopher of two hundred years ago spoke of wisdom and virtue, and the education of youth, as the elemental principles

for a new colony, which in addition should be founded upon "Deeds of Peace."

What an appeal to human reason!—Not less effective than that of Paul when he spoke of "temperance, and righteousness, and judgment to come," making proud Felix tremble.

"Governments depend upon men, rather than men upon governments." Adopting this truism as the grand motto (and who has the temerity to deny it?) it becomes the all-absorbing question, with all well-disposed people of this land, to carefully look to the moral and social condition, as well as the education and training, of that numerous class who do the labor of the country, and in whose grasp, beyond all dispute or question, is held the destiny of this republic for good or for evil.

He who denies it closes his eyes upon the record of the past and the present, and lacks the comprehension to form a correct estimate of the future. The broad tables of American law, the wide scope of universal suffrage, and the great rule of civil, religious, and political rights, teach us, in unmistakable language, where to find the true source of all power.

Knowing this important fact, therefore, it is the part of wisdom as well as of expediency to invest the yeomanry of the land with those ideas which will not only induce them to revere and respect the ordinance of the

Almighty to labor, but also lead them to the full and implicit belief in its necessity to insure their happiness, prosperity and respectability, and the honor and renown of the State.

## CHAPTER II.

## THE DUTIES OF THE LABORING MAN TO THE STATE.

THE duties and obligations the laboring man owes the state? It is our purpose to answer this question. I have already stated, that the laboring men of this country hold in their hand immense political power. This is more peculiarly the case in this country than in any other. Here all power is in the people. This may be said with regard to all kinds of government. In one sense it is; I mean, however, political power as contradistinguished from physical power, the law-making power—the means of revolutionizing without revolution in the common acceptation of the term—the power to change, to direct, to control. Possessing this vast element to the breadth and extent they do, it becomes them to use and exercise it with discretion, with judgment, and in Christian fear.

An unrestrained liberty may have answered in the pastoral days of our remote ancestors, but it is not suited to the present age. Modern society, education, and refinement require that each individual should surrender a part of his natural liberty to the State, in ex-

change for a corresponding duty on its part to protect him in the enjoyment of his life, his liberty, his property, his reputation. This is a covenant which each individual has with the state. In this country it is defined and written out. With ordinary inquiry there can be no mistake in the understanding of this covenant. It is as plain as the English language can make it.

With us, constitutional questions are not dependent upon the legislative construction, or upon obscure and uncertain meanings of immemorial customs. They are the written law, indorsed and sanctified by the people in their sovereign capacity; they are accessible to all, and thus far have proved beneficial to all.

The same laws require that each should make a contribution of a part of his labor in the shape of taxation, for the support and maintenance of the organization of the body politic; all this is absolutely necessary for the perfect enjoyment of that personal liberty, comfort, and means of subsistence which the citizen of this country enjoys to a much greater extent than under any other system of government in the rest of the world.

More important, however, is the duty which the laboring man owes to the State, in personal service, in defending it in war, whether caused by invasion, insurrection, rebellion, or for redress of national grievances; and

not less important than this, is the duty which he owes of watching with vigilance the schemes of bad men, who too often do not hesitate in their ambition to weaken if not destroy the political fabric, for the accomplishment of their private ends and unreasonable purposes.

Our government is the government of the laboring man more than that of any other class, and it is the laboring man's duty, being in the majority, to see that no political wrong is inflicted on the State.

Under this view of the case, laboring men are not only justified, in looking, but it is their duty to look to the great question of legislation and representation. If bad laws are enacted, to repeal them; if bad men are in office, to remove them; if proper and necessary legislation is required, to see that men are elected who will attend to it. Because a man labors, he is not therefore disqualified to judge of all these things. If there were more laboring men in power, I am fully persuaded that there would be more practical and beneficial laws.

The best men in the Continental Congress were men from the shops and the farms; the best men in the Revolutionary army were of the same class. Washington was a surveyor; Knox, a bookseller; Putnam, Marion, Morgan, Stark, Wayne, and Lincoln were farmers, plain practical tillers of the soil, who literally left the plough standing in the furrow and sped to the battlefield.



Of the naval heroes of that day, Bainbridge was a sailor before the mast, so was Paul Jones, and Decatur, known as "the Bayard of the seas." Of the statesmen, Franklin was a printer, Sherman a shoemaker, Hamilton a counting-house clerk, and Robert Morris a merchant.

The men who laid the foundations of great fortunes in that early day of the country commenced in poverty. Stephen Girard was a French peasant, John Jacob Astor worked by the day for a furrier. These examples are enough to prove that laboring men in the cabinet and field, and upon the land and the sea, had an important and controlling hand in the establishment of this government. And there is no reason why the laboring men of the present should not take an active and controlling part in the support and maintenance of that noble superstructure, the handiwork of the laboring men who preceded them. Their duty to the State is as solemn as their duty to provide for the wants and necessities of their families; for without a good and stable government the laboring man would suffer in common with all classes. Let me not be misunderstood, as suggesting or intimating that the laboring man should desert his noble and high calling for the idle and dissipated life of two-thirds of the politicians of the day. No; let him not incur the disgrace of attempting to live by office. A more contemptible occupation cannot be

pursued by man, than to live solely in the pursuit of office; his conduct must necessarily be an abandonment of those manhood principles which do honor to the human race. Sycophancy and debasement must be exchanged for honor and independence.

I would not have the laboring man thus dishonored. What I would have him do, and a duty in which he can well serve the State, would be not to refuse place, but to let his merits and qualifications be sought for by others; to act independently in the exercise of his suffrage, and examine the qualifications of candidates himself, instead of taking the opinions of others. His duty is to see that proper men are elevated to place; nor will this in any way interfere with his ordinary occupation and calling.

The pursuit of politics has become so hackneyed, and so many idlers resort to it as a means of living, that the whole thing has become disreputable. Such will ever be the case where principle is made subservient to money. If it shall ever be the destiny of this country to return to primitive days and to primitive principles, the work is to be accomplished by the examples of the laboring masses. There is a frankness and manly, open deportment to be found in that class, which is not the case with all of those who profess to be their superiors. Capital is setting itself in open hostility to labor. A secret contest is now in progress between the money of

the country and its labor. The union of these two elements are necessary for the general good.

But I shall have occasion to discuss this question when I come to speak of trades, co-operative unions, and strikes. My theme now is the discussion of another branch of the subject. We see how the laboring class behaved themselves in the early days of the republic, and the important part they acted. They promptly responded to the appeal made to them by the state in the Revolutionary struggle ; they showed the same patriotic zeal in 1812, the same in 1846, and recently in putting down the great Rebellion, wherein not less than three hundred thousand of them voluntarily offered up their lives, their blood reddening the soil, and their bones strown over the earth's surface from Gettysburg to Chattanooga. They faithfully kept their covenant with the state. They performed their duty like men. Having thus saved the state, is it not incumbent on them to see to the management of its political affairs ? If they do not hold the official power, they are able to give cast and direction to it. Is this not on their part an absolute and imperative duty ? The majority must rule ; they, comprising a large majority, are derelict in duty to themselves if they do not see to this.

I am no advocate for revolution ; for a change of political rulers, where the safety and prosperity of the

country require it, made at the ballot-box, is not revolution. I speak of a necessary political change.

Another duty the laboring man owes to the state, and this is the last duty of which I shall speak. *It is submission to the laws.* It is the duty of all good citizens to give implicit obedience to the laws of the state. If these laws are oppressive to labor, or unjust and partial, let them be repealed ; but so long as they are upon the statute-book so long they should be obeyed. I am now speaking in the abstract. I shall have much to say hereafter as to the right of laboring men to confederate together for their mutual welfare, and to fix their own wages, when in exercising this right they do not come in conflict with the statute or with the common law of the land.

I have thus enumerated some of the many obligations due from the laboring classes to the state. There are others, but those I have noted are sufficient for the purposes I have in view. Then let it be the aim and object, as has thus far been the practice, of this class of men to maintain their position unsullied. Keep in view all questions of hazard and danger, guarding against them, and thus preserve that political compact — the government in which they have the largest interest, because they are the most numerous class.

Henry Clay was accustomed to say, that " he would rather be right, than to be President of the United

States." He who would sustain a strong cause to the end, must be sure that it is founded upon the principles of eternal justice. To-day the laboring men of America possess an amount of political power far stronger than any combination of capital that can be brought to bear against it. To hold this, wise counsels should prevail among them ; and they should reflect, that in their weal or woe all other classes in the great community must share equally. I have no reason to suspect an improper use of their vast influence. The experience of the past confirms me in the opinion that the constitutional power of the country is safely lodged with them, and it is to me rather a source of regret that we do not see more of their influence brought to bear upon the affairs of the state, upon its political as well as financial operations. The future will, in my judgment, be more prolific in results, produced by their direct influence.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE STATUS OF THE LABORING MAN.

BEFORE proceeding to the consideration of the civil and political rights of the laboring man, as well as of those means of defence which he holds in his own hands, and which are necessary for his own protection and the welfare of his family, we will examine his status, under the constitution and laws of the country.

The rights of labor, and of the laboring man, under our system, compared with Europe and the rest of the world, differ widely. There is no reason why this should be so; but such is the fact. The republican features of this government, as well as a higher state of civilization amongst all classes of people under it, are probably the causes.

The Federal Union rests upon the pillars which each State furnishes; these are borne up by the sturdy shoulders of the yeomanry of the land. It is therefore a government of the people, including, of course, all classes of people; the high and the low, the rich and the poor.

The empires and kingdoms of Europe claim hereditary prerogative, springing from what the rulers call royal blood. It is a strange idea that the blood of one man's veins is of a different quality from that of another. In this country, we cannot see it; our education is at fault in this particular. They can over the water! The spectacles they wear have a more powerful lens than those made in American workshops. The younger Weller, in his evidence in *Bardell v. Pickwick*, defined the magnifying quality of the former.

The Continental Congress, nearly a century ago, boldly proclaimed the dogma of the inalienable rights of man; the guns of Bunker Hill re-echoed the noble sentiment, and the blood and carnage of a seven-years war put the seals upon the proclamation. It became a living covenant. It has become stronger and stronger, and its future strength and power lie chiefly in the custody and keeping of the class of men who work in the shops and mines, in the fields and manufactories, and those who follow the other numerous trades and manual occupations of the country.

We live among, therefore, as well as enjoy, the blessings of a democracy based upon the popular will,—emphatically a government of the people. And who are they? Look over the directories of the cities and towns, the monthly pay-rolls of the factories and mines; look to the numerous trades and mechanical

employments, and the registered list of voters, where the occupation of each is appended, — and it will be an easy matter to determine who compose the vast majority of the people.

It will thus be quite easy to determine where the political power of the country is located, with the knowledge that universal suffrage is the law of almost every State and Territory of a country bounded by the shores of two great oceans, with an intermediate space of three thousand miles; a country vast in its proportions, — its geographical limits greater in extent than any other, and the means of sustaining a population twice that of China.

When Napoleon the Great ceded to the United States the Mississippi territory, under articles of purchase, his minister of state, Talleyrand, said, "Sire, you have ceded a territory that is susceptible of sustaining a population of two hundred millions of people, with all the necessary wants of civilized man." The Mississippi valley is a small part of the public domain.

The power of the English throne is in princes and nobles. Not so in America. We may be thankful that it is not. We have a larger liberty, and a government better suited to the public welfare than any other country.

John Randolph of Roanoke was an eccentric man,



but an able statesman. In his first speech, in his place in Congress, on his return home from a brief visit to Europe, he said, "Mr. Speaker, I have been to see the English government, but I did not see it in kings or princes, nor in the Lords nor Commons; but I saw twenty thousand men dressed in scarlet, their bayonets gleaming in the sunbeams, and that, sir, is the English government."

We may conclude, therefore, that these twenty thousand men in scarlet were marched and counter-marched by kings and princes, and the landed aristocracy of that realm. The nobility of Great Britain may number a very few thousand; the nobility of the United States is forty millions; in three more decades it will be an hundred millions. A respectable number of noblemen!

Under the democratic idea which pervades the Constitution and laws of this country, equality of rights among men is the cardinal doctrine. All know it. Webster, in his great speech in the United States Senate in reply to Colonel Hayne, forty years ago, in summing up the powers of the Federal Union, declared them to be derived from "WE, THE PEOPLE," using the language of the Declaration of Independence. If this be the true construction of Federal power, how much stronger does it apply to State sovereignty! Jefferson and Calhoun denied this application as to the Federal

Union, and limited it to the States. Which school of politicians is right, is immaterial as to our present inquiry. One fact is certain and indisputable, that, as to State sovereignty, all power is in "WE, THE PEOPLE."

Nine-tenths of the people live by the sweat of the brows — by manual labor. They then hold the political power of the country in their hands — its destiny.

De Tocqueville, the celebrated French writer on American democracy, says, that here "individual power is insignificant, that of the masses immense." America acknowledges no "one-man power."

We therefore come to the conclusion, and it is the legitimate one, that the status of the laboring men in the United States is a commanding position, so far as the political power of the country is concerned. They hold it in their own hands; they are king, lords, and commons. May they ever exercise this power in discretion and sound judgment! As their authority is great, so is their responsibility. They are indebted for this status to themselves and their associates.

Our laws and institutions are anchored on the great principle of equality; equal, civil and political rights; equal, religious and social rights. This fact is undeniable; one blow of the Continental Congress upturned the theories and policies of a thousand years.

The discovery of this Western Hemisphere was not delayed in vain, through God's providence, to that late period of time when a Genoese captain planted his foot on the Bahama Islands. The Old World must needs be first populated, before the young one was made the theatre for greater and grander exploits than history had yet recorded.

There was to be a new race of men ; new theories of government ; new social relations ; despotism was to be subdued, and man, created in the image of his Maker, was to be restored to the true dignity of his position. In America man became man, in the true and genuine sense of that word. Europe had enslaved him, so had the rest of the world : he was born in ignorance, and in ignorance he died. He had become humiliated by tyranny. A new country, fertile in soil, salubrious in climate, remote from other lands, the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans shutting it out, in its infancy, from intrusion and harm was to be his home ; here, truly, was the spot for his regeneration. Labor here was made respectable, for in primitive days all alike had to labor for subsistence.

The laboring man gave cast and character to the civil polity, he gave strength and power to its superstructure. The coat-of-arms of Young America was the yeoman, with axe in hand, felling the forest and rearing his humble dwelling. Holding the power,

he exercised it to the shame of the Old World despotisms. His progression made crowned heads tremble upon their thrones, illustrating the fact that man had the capacity to govern himself; that labor, not titles, ennobled man; man in the sense we use the term — freemen, not slaves.

And herein I find the status of the laboring men of this country in 1871; born to independence, or so by naturalization and adoption, which is the same thing. For those who make common cause with us are of us, and entitled to the same privileges; for if they did not prefer this to the country of their birth they would not be here.

I disclaim the intention of creating discord among classes; of making one envious of or discourteous to the other; but, at the same time, I only repeat what all do know, that the civil power of the land is in the hands of those who daily labor. This is a government of the majority, and the laboring class is immensely in the majority. Therefore the civil, religious, and social status of the laboring man is immense. He holds it fairly, and his title thereto is beyond question or cavil. We find him thus occupying a position of political power and influence, which may be exercised for good or evil, which does not exist to the same extent in any other country. Since the days of the Roman commonwealth, two thousand years ago,

there has been no such universal freedom as the people of the United States enjoy.

In most of the Eastern countries slavery is the condition of the laboring man. In other nations, dignified under the name of limited monarchies, they are treated with greater consideration, but still they are servile — ranked by a higher class, and limited to fewer privileges in the State.

Religious toleration is enjoyed by the masses in but few countries, and in none to the same extent as in this. Universal suffrage is known in no other country. In France there was an approximating advance to it, but the bayonet prescribed a limit.

The laboring man of this Union has all the civil, political, and religious privileges of any other man or class of men. He is eligible to the highest office, and clothed with all the elements of political power. His position is therefore sovereign. Holding this exalted status, and belonging to a class which numerically is vastly in the majority, this is the country of all others for him.

Besides this, he is better paid for his service here; and he thus possesses the great facilities of rearing and educating his children for a pleasing destiny unknown to the same extent elsewhere.

## CHAPTER IV.

## THE DUTY OF THE STATE TO THE LABORING MAN.

IN speaking of the state, we mean the political power of the body politic — embraced in the executive, legislative, and judicial branches of the government. In this country the state has a double signification, because of the union or confederation of several distinct sovereignties ; vesting certain powers in the general government, and retaining on their part, all their inherent sovereign power not delegated to the Federal Union. In this double capacity we shall speak of the state.

What constitutes this political power ? and to what source does the state owe its wealth, prosperity, and grandeur ? To labor. Without this it would be impotent. Capital is incidental to labor, it is the product and result of labor, and without it there would be no capital. Without it the mines would be unavailable ; the fabrics of manufactured articles and the productions of the earth would be of comparatively small moment. Therefore, we may safely lay down the broad rule, that capital is almost the sole result of labor.

Money did not build the pyramids, nor the Chinese wall, nor St. Peter's, nor St. Paul's, nor the Pacific railroad, nor does it add provinces or maintain them, nor whiten the seas with marine canvas. It, of course, plays its part upon the great stage; but the stage is erected by labor, and without it there would be no stage for the players. All the money from all the coffers in the universe could not have erected those ancient architectural monuments, whose ruins give us but a feeble idea of their ancient magnitude and splendor, unaided by the strong and sinewy arm of the laboring man. How are the fifteen millions of tons of anthracite, and a like quantity of bituminous coal, annually mined in this country, prepared and sent to market, but by labor? Thus the wheels of the manufactory, of the ocean steamers, and of the locomotive, are driven; thus millions of people are supplied with fuel for their necessities and comforts.

It is labor that confers individual wealth, power, prosperity, and renown to the State, and really establishes the character of the government. If, then, the state is enriched, made strong in political power and firmly balanced upon the shoulders of her laboring classes, possessed of all those elements which enable her to repel invasion, make conquest, and suppress internal commotion, should she not, like a kind and indulgent parent, who rewards his children for devoted

and meritorious services, treat her citizens with kindness and care and great consideration? It is the only conduct that can consistently, or should be pursued. It grieves me to say, however, that this has not been the invariable rule. It has been but too often the case, that those intrusted with the law-making power, have fallen short of the requirements of the masses.

He who acts in a representative capacity has no mind of his own. He is a representative — of what? The views, sentiments, and opinions of those who elect him. He is their servant; they are his masters. It is their yea, or nay, that he utters, not his own. Their wishes should mould his opinion, or he is not their representative, but his own. And any man in legislative position who consults his own opinion instead of the opinion of those who put him there, is unfit and unworthy to occupy that position. And it is as much the duty of the constituent to remove him as it is his duty to resign it.

So far as concerns the legislation of the state heretofore, there seems to have been a more careful consideration of incorporated wealth than of individual enterprise; — an anxiety to protect capital, and permit labor to labor on, unheeded, unaided, struggling for itself — of secondary or, in fact, no importance whatever. Combinations of capital have succeeded in reaching the legislative ear with more favor than the appeal of



laboring men. This class have by no means been favorites in high places. They usually occupy the back seats in the political synagogue. Recently, however, a bone has been thrown to them, in an enactment making the legal day's labor to consist of eight hours. So far so good; a peace offering, for the present, from the captain to the crew; but like *Oliver Twist* they will be crying for "more," but, unlike *Oliver*, their prayer will be answered — affirmatively answered. Of this eight-hour law I shall speak hereafter. For the present it is on the statute-book and there it will remain. This is a settled fact, and of which there can be no mistake.

Let us go back a little, in our national history, and examine into some of the questions which our fathers solemnly adjudged, passed upon and conclusively settled; questions which show us pretty clearly what rights and privileges have been considered as belonging to the laboring classes; — and passed upon by the vote, not of one, but of all the States.

At the commencement of this century there arose a great political strife. It was during the administration of the elder Adams. There were enacted what were known as the alien and sedition laws. The alien, postponed the citizenship of the emigrant; and the sedition, prohibited the citizens from assembling together, and criticising the official acts of their rulers.

Like all arbitrary and oppressive laws, this gave rise to a reformation.

But further, the same men who were the authors of the alien and sedition laws asserted boldly that it would never do to intrust the power of the government with the laboring masses. According to their idea, there was not sufficient intelligence with the masses to make them the absolute depository of the political power of the country. It was not so much a question of honesty as of intelligence.

The men who headed what then was called the Federal party, because they favored the consolidation of power in a central government of States, at the partial sacrifice of State sovereignty, and the individual rights that composed it, were the Adamses, Hamilton, and their associates. They were opposed by Jefferson, Madison, and others composing the democratic party, and favoring the largest liberty to the citizen, and in favor of investing him with the whole political power of the country.

The Presidential election of 1800 was contested with more spirit, energy, and acrimony, than any which had preceded it or, up to this time, has followed it. The broad and tremendous issue was squarely put to the voters of the country, whether the political power of the country could be safely deposited in their hands. A momentous issue truly — but determined

as any man of prudent foresight might easily have anticipated. The Jefferson policy prevailed; the alien and sedition laws were repealed, and there has never been a serious attempt made to reinstate them.

It cannot be pretended that such men as the Adamses, Hancock, Hamilton, and their party associates, were influenced by bad motives; nor do we for a moment believe that any sensible man, at this day, will make the charge. They were patriotic men; they sustained the cause of human liberty with great power, and at great personal sacrifice. They were honest, upright, and able statesmen; they had been schooled under the imperial rule of kings; they had learned in infancy and the conviction strengthened with age, that society was made up of political as well as social grades; that rank and labor were poorly yoked; and while they condemned and despised tyranny and despotism, they were unable to draw the line between themselves who were educated, and the masses who were uneducated; and because the masses were uneducated they did not think the political power of the country entirely safe in their hands. Men of this opinion live now; but there is no allowance to be made for them, because three-quarters of a century of experience should have opened their eyes.

To such men the great strides of progress do not seem to be visible. The leaders of the old Federal

party acted under honest impulses, but with too much timidity ; they advanced cautiously ; they feared that unlimited power in the masses would be destructive of free government. Nor can they be so much blamed, when we come to reflect, that with them there was but a single step from monarchy to the most unlimited democracy.

They were, however, like many now, behind the progress of the age. Jefferson, the leader of the young democracy, sounded the trumpet of reformation, boldly proclaiming the doctrine that the people were worthy of absolute sovereignty, and his predictions have proved that they were the conclusions of true prophecy. He and his associates carried the political citadel ; not by fire, nor sword, nor famine, nor siege guns, but by the power of the pen, " which is mightier than the sword." It was by the power of argument that Demosthenes nerved the Athenians " to fight Philip," and enabled Burke to sway Parliaments.

Jefferson made this appeal to the nation, that the people of the nation were the only true custodians of power. And the people said, amen. And so the great reformers accomplished their destiny. They were the same men in politics that Washington had been in arms, Franklin in philosophy, Rittenhouse in astronomy, and Fulton, subsequently, in mechanics. The

§ laboring man was placed where he belonged, and that great mooted point which had agitated the country from the time that Cornwallis surrendered his sword to the installation of Thomas Jefferson as President of the United States of America, was disposed of.

This creed is now omnipotent, it can only be changed in the destruction of free government — the destruction of the equal inalienable rights of man. The people of the eastern countries have taken up the signal, and kings and princes feel that there is a smouldering earthquake groaning like a fettered giant beneath them, and that the volcanic eruption must come; that it is a question of time only. Oppressed and impoverished man replies, let it come, and come speedily.

The seeds that have been sown broadcast in America have produced a bountiful harvest. The laboring millions of other countries are looking on with wonder and amazement. But progress is yet in its infancy; it has not had its centennial anniversary.

## CHAPTER V.

## STATE'S DUTY TO THE LABORING MAN.

Does it not seem passing strange that these very political doctrines, which were settled by one of the most desperate political struggles through which the country ever passed, should now be undergoing a second trial, and from the indications will be attended with a deeper-seated animosity, and a more bitter strife? It is true it sails under a new flag, but the destiny of the ship is the same port. Now it is called *Capital v. Labor*. In 1800 it was called *Special Privileges v. The Multitude*. The defendant gained then, and the defendant will gain now.

In 1800 the argument was, that the people did not possess a sufficient degree of intelligence to comprehend and grasp the difficult, subtle, knotty question of state policy; that it required a board of instructors, a council of censors, to let the masses know and understand their duties toward the state. The state was a vast machine,—its running gear complicated, and it could not even be wound up, much less kept in order, by vulgar hands.

The argument to-day is, that capital is king, Lord paramount of men and government. To this great ruler the masses, who are the mainspring, must be kept in strict subordination. There is just as much reason in this as to put the loaded cart before the horse ! Capital seems determined to rule ; it distrusts labor, which, in fact, makes the rounds of the ladder upon which capital is perched. In 1800 it was a proud aristocracy, to-day it is a proud monopoly.

Reasoning, sensible men, teach me the difference between the two. There may have been a different motive seventy years ago, when compared with the motive now. It may then have been an honest distrust ; but my idea is, that to-day there is too general a disregard of the rights of the laboring man.

The laboring men of 1800 were the same men who had fought and triumphed in the battles of the Revolution ; they had driven back the savages, unawed by the brand and the scalping knife ; they had felled the forest and made the fields luxuriant with fruits and cereals ; they had erected their altars of religious worship, each after the dictates of his own belief and conscience ; they had emphatically put in motion the wheels of progress. They were in every sense MEN, regenerated men ; they grasped from the crowned head of royalty the symbol of power, they trampled it under

foot, and upon its smouldering ruins they planted the tree of LIBERTY !

The laboring man thus, not only assumed the status in which God created him, but became supreme ruler in this hemisphere. He had earned his commission of manhood, and he received it under the sign manual of Thomas Jefferson. Of course Jefferson was not the only hero of man's reformation, but he was the undoubted and unquestioned leader. No one individual had done so much in the cause of man's elevation. The strength and energy of his mind penetrated that veil, which for centuries previous had concealed the honest, submissive face and sweated brow of toiling, laboring man. It was mainly the power of his logic that dissipated the prevailing idea, that because man labored he was therefore incapacitated to rule.

The fact is that man is not in his proper sphere if he does not labor. It is God's decree, — unchangeable, everlasting decree, — that he should labor. Not all tillers of the soil, not all miners, not all mechanics ; but all industrious, all occupied in some proper and useful employment — this is man's destiny everywhere, and in all countries.

It was the farmer and mechanic who mainly decided the issue of the Revolution ; they made up the rank and file of the armies, they led on the hosts to victory, they filled, in a great measure, the seats in Congress as



well as in the Cabinet. They moulded the decrees of state; they gave tone to public opinion; they were the patriots of the land. Jefferson was one of them; he shared in their official duties, he gave to them and received from them that political inspiration which ennobled them, and crowned his memory with everlasting fame. I speak of him as a type of those who thought and acted in concert with him. On the score of merit they all had claims, but his was the leading, not to say controlling mind of the sages of those blessed days.

Laboring men of the nation, of the universe, remember and revere the name and memory of this great apostle of human liberty and the rights of labor. Destiny placed him upon the stage at the right time, and in the right place. Great popular commotions always produce great men, or rather give the opportunity for the exhibition and development of genius. So it ever has been in war, in the sciences, and in politics.

The decisive vote of 1800 produced grand results, the chief one of which was, that labor and laboring men became respectable. Power is generally formidable, but not always respectable. It now became united; it enjoyed the two elements. Its proportions were very strong, and its features very agreeable. And when the state came to the acknowledgment that all power was in the people, and established its

definition in the political and civil revolution of 1800, a very important matter became a fixed fact in the land.

The theories of the trans-Atlantic cabinets were sent to the winds. Rank and royal blood lost all its prestige on this side of the water; and may God in his infinite wisdom maintain and perpetuate it, should the madness and folly of his creatures lose sight of or, through jarring factions, attempt to destroy it.

Such were the doctrines of young America while in her swathing bands, and before she assumed the gigantic proportions in bone, sinew, and muscle that she now has. The creed should have grown stronger and stronger as the population increased in numbers, for so much more was the necessity. Such, however, history informs us is not the fact. Before the smoke of the conflict of 1800 had fairly cleared away, the minds and consciences of the men in power became somewhat indifferent to the popular clamor, and at this point of time it is disgustingly indifferent.

During the eight years of Jefferson's administration, and the two administrations which followed, the rights of labor were far better looked to than from that period down. The primitive, keen, Puritan edge which the early years of the Republic gave to the sword of justice has become blunted, not so much in its use as the awkward and bungling manner in which those

who grasp the hilt sway it. The early national and local legislatures were very close to the people, compared with the very respectable distance they are now from them.

They would be much, very much, improved if they were compelled to countermarch to the base line, and begin again. A month's rations of the soup of some one of the twenty thousand poor tailors of New York, who are crammed away in garrets, without light, ventilation or fuel, would give a better tone to their stomach. Plain, simple food is a sure antidote for gout.

But the national legislation in early days was probably as good as the masses could expect. There were some very good and salutary laws enacted.

The laws encouraging immigration and naturalization were more liberal than those of some of the States. At a more recent period, in 1838, in the convention of this State called to prepare and submit amendments to the State Constitution, an unsuccessful effort was made to defeat the naturalization law; or what was equivalent, making a probationary period of twenty-one years. That was to require the alien to spend about half the period of his life in preparing himself to become a citizen. This effort, uncongenial to the spirit of the age, failed to meet the approbation of the body.

<sup>1</sup> For a long succession of years Congress devoted itself to the discussion of tariff laws, and those projects

which did not concern the rights of labor as much as capital and monopolies, which are always the representatives of capital.

Animated at the start by a proper regard for the views and opinions of the constituency, as time rolled on, however, all these influences which corrupt a state made their usual impression. The plain simple manners of a primitive people yielded as wealth and affluence made their approaches. But there was this distinction between the man in power and the man who put him there. The progress of the former in dissipation and vice was at least ten steps to the other's one. In this ratio they seem to have travelled along for the last third of a century. And unfortunately for the rights of the laboring man, he has been too indulgent and too forgiving for his own interests and those of his family and the state at large.

The national legislature, though tardy and slow in its concessions to the absolute wants and the necessities of the masses, after fifty years from the conclusion of a treaty of peace with Great Britain came up to the mark in 1832, by the passage of a general pension law, for the benefit of the soldiers of the Revolution. Previous to this they had legislated for extreme cases of want and destitution. No class of men on earth had stronger claims upon their government than these soldiers who had survived the perils and dangers of

a seven-years war ; a class of men who had founded a republic, and been paid for their services in Continental money, not worth five cents on the dollar !

It was not, however, until 1862 that the legislature actually did an act of generosity, in the passage of the homestead law, under which any person could settle upon a portion of the public domain and make it his home without compensation. This was an enactment in keeping with the spirit of the age. It should, however, have found its way upon the statute-book a half century earlier — but better late than never.

Congress has thus repealed the alien and sedition laws, passed a general pension law, a homestead law, two general bankrupt laws, and recently abolished involuntary servitude. Something accomplished, in a period exceeding a half century.

But if we are to judge from the speeches of members, they would seem to claim more credit done to labor in the enactment of high protective tariff laws than those acts I have specially named ! Hardly convinced by the arguments of the New England cotton and wool spinners, I have never been able to learn precisely how their logic brought about the conclusion, that the greater the imposition of taxes on the necessities of life the more labor was benefited. I am fully aware that the argument these manufacturers made was, that the wages of labor would be increased in the ratio

that special privileges were granted to them. But my intellect, I am free to confess, was too dull to comprehend how a laboring man was to be benefited in adding fifty cents a day to his wages when he paid twice that sum caused by prohibitory duties upon those articles which were necessary for his subsistence. The manufacturing monopolies understood the logic. I cannot.

The undisguised truth of the matter is, that under the system of high protection those immense corporations added millions to their coffers, built palaces and gave princely entertainments, while labor remained in its rented tenement, and the consumers of their commodities paid twice as much for them as they would cost in other countries. They were made at home, however, and this cured all just cause of complaint, IN THEIR OPINION!

Capital, however, hovered around the national legislature, and in the name of labor procured these extravagant laws. Remarkable instances of disinterested conduct! Like Pollock's miser, they put "with one hand a penny in the urn of poverty and with the other took a shilling out." I shall hereafter speak at length of tariffs, excises, and taxes.

But objectionable as may have been the general course of Congress for the last thirty years, the legislation of this State has been infinitely more so. Here the keen fangs and Briarean outstretched arms

of incorporated capital have seized, — nay, they firmly hold the law-making power. Individual rights have become a myth. The appeal of labor has no kindly response; “THERE IS NO MONEY IN IT.” A man has no right to be poor! He has duties to perform to the State. The State has none to perform for him. Incorporated power boldly and unblushingly stalks at noon-day into the legislative hall, and makes its demand. Sir Harry Vane did not remove “that vase” with more submission, upon the order of Oliver Cromwell, backed by his men-at-arms, than these modern Solons spring at the mandate of my Lord Capital!

The annual statute-book of Pennsylvania, with its 1,500 pages, is more than three-fourths filled with acts conferring incorporated privileges. Not one of them is enacted that does not forge an additional link to that chain which is daily encircling the popular masses. Capital is supreme in the legislative chamber. It will not brook defeat. It stands there erect; it commands: its creatures obey! A persuasive tongue has capital; — a silvery voice, that may be heard even in whispers; strong and solid arguments does capital carry in its capacious pockets; arguments that are irresistible; arguments unknown in the forum, glistening, shining, brilliant, convincing arguments! To such arguments men will listen. Shylock used them upon the Rialto. To such arguments, dull and weak

and vacillating is the comprehension of that man who cannot be persuaded! The Prætorian guard put up Rome at auction! Let us be admonished by her fate.

No fair-minded man will pretend that the rights of labor should have PARTIAL PRIVILEGES in legislation. Every fair-minded man will say, however, that labor should HAVE EQUAL privileges with capital. Equality, even, just, and of full measure; no less, no more. To this labor is entitled, and this it will have, if it is but true to itself. If the indication of the times be not an illusion, that day is coming. There will be an upheaving of the political elements which will purify the political atmosphere.

Capital and labor should go hand in hand, and in this way prosperity will fall upon all alike; but capital cannot permanently rule alone. The laboring masses of the State will not permit this to be the case. They carry in their pocket the key to the door of the legislative hall; they have but to turn the lock and enter. "*Open Sesame!*" and back it swings! Men ought to think, who occupy legislative positions; or, if they will not, must be made to think that the power they hold is not theirs; it is the property and estate of those whom they are delegated to serve. They are servants only; the people masters! Does this ever occur to them? One would think not, sometimes.

If, like the old Grecian democracy, the people could



assemble in mass in the legislative chambers, there would be very short sessions, very few acts of incorporation, very few special privileges, no bonuses paid for votes, very short speeches, an immense reduction of expenses, and an annual statute-book of an hundred pages!!

We seem to be under the impression that we are increasing in wisdom—we can hardly have the face to say that we are increasing in honesty! A reformation is necessary; and as the toiling millions composing nine-tenths of the population are mostly interested in it, they must take the initiative. Progress has become the order of the day. Men have begun to think for themselves; common schools, the press, the telegraph, steam, and railroads are working wonders throughout the world. The beating of the great public heart touches the extremes of civilization; the march of man, laboring, persevering man, is upward and onward. England feels the pulsation, and she has released her iron grasp upon Ireland; and the men of Leeds, Birmingham, and Manchester have been to the polls; the idle and dissolute bishops of Ireland can no longer devour the food of famishing men, women, and children in the name of the Lord. And in Europe not only has Napoleon “the little” been destroyed by the Prussians at Sedan, but the French people are now drench-

ing the streets of Paris that the curse of Cæsarism may forever die.

King John, at Runnymede, did not more reluctantly submit to the English barons, than their legal descendants to the late reforms. A Christian chapel and Mahomedan mosque stand side by side at Constantinople, and at Cairo the crescent and the cross look each other complacently in the face. A Yankee heads a Chinese embassy, and the Sultan takes coffee with the Queen in Windsor Castle. Religious toleration has become the watchword of enlightened peoples. Steam and electricity have accomplished wonders. It is truly an age of progress.

Laboring men must not stand still. Amidst all these revolutions it would indeed be a strange thing if they did not turn their own handiwork to their own profit. The goal is before them and within their grasp; let them steadily and firmly ADVANCE! Clothed as they are with political power, it is an enigma to remain insensible. It is incomprehensible.

Let the toiling masses but give the State an intimation, a strong INTIMATION, that they must be dealt with upon terms of equality, and the State will do it. They are the State. They have but to whisper in their own ear. If they remain inactive, and permit capital to rule exclusively, theirs is the fault.

The greatest obstruction now to the progress of labor is the bad system of legislation. Capital controls it. Money is power ; but labor, if properly brought to bear, is a greater power. If, therefore, the masses are not heard, is it not their own fault ? Why remain inactive or indifferent ?

You make this land your home ! you desire it for the home of your children ; the graves of your fathers are here, as well as your religious altars ; all the family ties which surround the hearthstone, and make social life dear to you, are here. It is for your happiness, as well as that of those who shall succeed you, that you maintain your civil and political rights. You hold in your own hands the balances of justice ; let them not tremble ; you have the power to control the State ; why hesitate ! not to destroy, *but to save*.

Corporation has been piled upon corporation in past legislation, till the pyramid overtops Cheops ! The same system will be continued if not averted by your action. The State owes you protection ; you require laws for the ventilation of mines ; laws for regulating labor ; laws for equalizing taxation ; laws to prevent the further monopoly of privileges ; laws to restrain the influence of incorporated power ; in short, laws that will look to the common weal ; laws of equality, even, exact equality ; all this the State owes you. If the State will not grant it, take it. The toil of your

hands has made the State great, powerful ; begirt with roads of iron, dotted all over with foundries and forges and mills and manufactories ; the chambers you have excavated in the mines, if upon the surface, would make sites for immense cities ; towns have sprung up as if by magic, and incorporated and individual wealth have no limits. These are the evidences of your labor.

In return, what do you ask ? Nothing but equality ; that you may be placed on a footing with capital, that you may simply reap the harvest which you have prepared. You do not ask to be put ahead of capital ; but you ask that you should, as common children of the same parental government, have a common inheritance with all ; and who shall say that this is wrong ? Where is the man, or men, with the temerity to say so ?

## CHAPTER VI.

## THE LEGALITY OF UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVE MEASURES.

HAVING discussed the several questions of the status of the laboring man, his duty to the State, and the duty of the State to him, I approach now a wider range, in which are involved those duties and obligations which he owes to himself, his family, and his associates. And this inquiry presents a multitude of issues, civil, religious, social and political, co-operative measures, cheap labor, unions, strikes, &c.

I will commence with miners' unions. Have laboring men the LEGAL right to associate together, and make a common league, regulating the terms and conditions upon which they will bestow such labor? Can this admit of a doubt? We have already shown that the sedition laws, which were a burning disgrace to the statute-book, prohibiting under heavy penalties the people from assembling together to consult on those necessary measures relating to their own freedom and happiness, are repealed.

I find in the 20th section of the "Bill of Rights" (Const. Pa.), "that the people have a right, in a peace-

able manner, to assemble together for their common good;" and that this "right shall not be questioned." This admirable document, handed down from our fathers, further declares, "that all power is inherent in the people, and all free governments are founded on their authority, and instituted for their peace, safety, and happiness;" and further, "that they have at all times an inalienable and indefeasible right to alter, reform, or abolish their government, in such manner as they may think proper."

This instrument is entirely silent as to the power and privileges of capital.

The laboring men of Pennsylvania have, therefore, the highest authority for "assembling together in a peaceable manner, for their common good." They may lawfully make leagues, contracts, and agreements with each other, regulating their wages, designating for whom they will labor, and from whom they will buy; or of doing any other act which they may deem proper, for their "common good;" and there is no law to prevent it.

I am aware that, in some instances, corporation attorneys have held the doctrine that such acts amount to a conspiracy, and the parties are liable to indictment. Indictment for what? What is conspiracy? Because a conspiracy is an indictable offence. "A confederation of two or more individuals, to do acts

which are unlawful, or prejudicial to the community, is a conspiracy." Hawk. 348. But it has been decided that a **LAWFUL ACT** may be the subject of indictment for a conspiracy; but it is "ONLY WHERE THERE IS A DIRECT INTENT THAT INJURY SHALL RESULT FROM IT." A question of criminal intention. *Com. v. Carlisle*, Bright R. 39, 7 S. & R. 469.

There was an English statute relating to combinations of workmen, but it was repealed by the 5 Geo. IV. c. 95. This act contemplated every class of cases which are now embodied in the associated articles and regulations of the miners' and other trades' unions of that country. But its spirit was intolerable, even in a British atmosphere, and with a British Parliament, during the reign of George IV., public opinion compelled its repeal.

No statute in that country or in this has since been enacted on this subject, making a lawful act criminal. It will be the policy of both not to make the attempt. There are statutes of Pennsylvania punishing conspiracies, but they are confined to conspiracies which contemplate the doing of unlawful acts, such as cheats, frauds, libels, and other misdemeanors. See Acts of 5th April, 1790, and 4th April, 1807.

But there is no statutory provision making it a conspiracy to do a lawful act. Nor does the common law tolerate the idea of a conspiracy to do a lawful

act, except where the intention is manifest that "wrong or injury shall result therefrom." *Hartman v. Comth.*, 5 Barr. 60. Such is the adjudicated law. And any corporation attorney will plead in vain before a reasonable court to maintain the contrary. It is utterly idle and silly to make such assertions.

Now let us examine whether the miners' unions come within the rule of law as laid down.

What constitutes a union ?

What I understand by a miners' union is a combination among the men of the colliery to establish the price of wages, to fix it among those who are members of the Association, to make this binding upon those who VOLUNTARILY become members of the union, but none others. There are other rules and regulations, but these are not material for the present inquiry, as not even a corporation attorney could take exception to mutual contributions for the relief of sick or disabled miners, their destitute wives or their helpless children, or for the support of such as cannot obtain employment; or for determining what particular candidate they may decide to vote for — for town constable or fence viewer !

If I am right, therefore, in my conception of the real object and design of a miners' union (and I believe I am), there can be no legal or moral objection raised to them. They are peaceable assemblies



of the people. There is "no intent to injure any individual, nor the State;" their object and design, in the language of the Bill of Rights, in assembling together is for their "common good!" It is for their "peace, safety, and happiness."

Who, therefore, is bold enough to deny this position? It is a barricaded fortress; it cannot be successfully assailed. Who is there so poor, so humble, so despised if you please, that may not put the price upon the labor of his own hands? And who is there that may not say that the action of my neighbor in this particular shall also be my rule of action? To deny this is absurd; to prevent it by legislation, tyranny.

It is said that this is a free government. There is no freedom if the laborer may not set the price for his own service. Who is his master that is authorized to say to him, you SHALL labor, much less to fix the price of that labor?

The State may say, you SHALL fight our battles, and be paid so much per month; you SHALL pay your share of taxes; you SHALL observe the Sabbath day; you SHALL generally submit to all legal exactions. This is the prerogative of the State; but the State has not said you SHALL labor, nor has it said that you SHALL not fix the price of labor, if it is your pleasure to perform it. And the chances are that the State never will. If it should, it would reverse the order

of civilization. Its march would be backward; the lights of progress would not be obscured, merely, but obliterated. There is no reason to apprehend such a condition of things.

But why is it that we do not hear murmurs and complaints against the combination of capital? Is capital a thing so sacred that even to IMAGINE reform against it is treason? The day has gone by when this can be applied to the subjects of kings. It is a principle that should not survive in a republic!

A year does not roll round without bringing together all the railroad interests in this broad land, and for what? To establish the tariff of tolls, to fix the price of carrying passengers, and the government's soldiers, and the government's mails!

The scale of tariff so annually agreed upon, I have observed, never has a downward tendency! The men engaged in the mining and vending of coal fix the price of it in market by general combination. Wall Street, the great Lazaretto of the nation, the corrupt and unclean ulcer upon the body politic, has its bulls and bears. The one daily elevating the other daily depressing the stock market, or making the effort to do so — all by combination!

- The manufacturers meet and settle the prices of their wares and commodities; the millionaires who control the money of the country through their banks

and brokers, by combination and co-operation, establish their rates of interest, discount, and exchange.

While capital is thus leagued by a combination of all the moneyed and corporate interests in the land, the press is silent; public opinion is silent; law-makers are silent; the money-changers are silent, and no voice either feeble or potent is raised against it. Why is this? It is simply because capital is king, and it is political heresy for labor to raise its voice. Will not the lion roar? Is he subdued? Has he lost his courage?

Now look upon the other picture. The journeymen tailors, the journeymen shoemakers, the coal miners, the different trades, occupations, and callings meet together to consult on measures "for their own good," for their "own peace and happiness," and resolve to stand by their respective scales of wages. Lo, this is conspiracy! A crime against the state; a breach of the peace; a public wrong! Where is the press, with its boasted power for good—for its advocacy of the rights of man, and the privilege of labor? Why not speak out in language that cannot be mistaken? Has fear come over it? Has capital assumed a threatening attitude? Does it cringe to capital?

Laboring men may legally form leagues and unions, • and co-operative associations, and the law does not forbid it. There is no statute against it; the prin-

ciples of the common law do not forbid it. Labor may protect itself. Capital does, and reason and justice and humanity proclaim that labor is quite as meritorious. Burke did not precisely understand how "to draft a bill of indictment against the British nation." Will some corporation attorney show us the draft of a bill of indictment against the laboring men of the United States of North America? The gist of the indictable offence being a combination to establish the wages of labor!! It is absolute nonsense to seriously discuss such a legal position. It became necessary, however, and our only regret is that our pen might not have been more usefully employed. Coming therefore to the conclusion, the LEGAL conclusion, that laboring men may form unions and co-operative associations for their own good, peace, and happiness, and there is no just or reasonable cause why they should not, we come to the conclusion of this chapter.

In our next we will examine the question of the propriety of their resorting to such measures. If it be legal, is it expedient? We will see.

## CHAPTER VII.

THE EXPEDIENCY OF UNIONS AND CO-OPERATIVE MEASURES  
AND CHEAP LABOR CONSIDERED.

**EXPEDIENCY!** What an immense meaning this word of ten letters has, and how often is that meaning perverted, and made the pretext to cover up and conceal wrong! We have shown very clearly, we think, that a miner's union is a **LEGAL** association; that the law does not forbid nor prohibit it. And as to this there cannot be the least doubt. That such a union is expedient, we will endeavor to show.

Among those natural duties which are imperative upon man, and which a civilized society requires at his hands, and from the performance of which morality and justice will not relieve him, is the support of his wife and children. He who does not strive to do this is unworthy to be classed among enlightened or civilized men. It is incumbent upon all alike; the rich and the poor, the great and the small. Instinct teaches this to the brute creation, and it would be strange indeed if man were insensible to the obligation.

While food and raiment are of the chiefest moment, a well-ordered and refined tone of society has enjoined education and moral and religious training of the youth. The bestowing of these is among those duties which devolve upon man. To do it effectually the laboring man must look beyond daily necessary wants. He should provide a home against accident, sickness, and those ordinary and very common misfortunes which will occur. He must therefore avail himself of every fair and legal advantage which his skill and labor afford. It is imperative, and he cannot avoid it. These demands of the family relation are sacred. They are to be met. The laws of God and man proclaim them.

The question arises, How is this to be done in the most effectual manner, by the laboring man? A serious inquiry. The law of God — which is superior to all other laws — has decreed “that the laborer is worthy of his hire.” The experience of three thousand years has neither impaired nor shown the propriety of the abrogation of the decree.

“Worthy of his hire.” And who is to be the judge of his compensation? or if that judgment be wrong, with whom is the remedy? The owner of the vineyard had his own rules and regulations. He paid as he pleased: so may the owner of a coal mine; but neither the one nor the other had or has the right to

compel laborers to enter the vineyard or colliery. It may be said, in good plain Saxon, "that it requires two to make a bargain" — the assent of the employer and the employed. Both are parties to the wages of labor.

The men of the mines — for I shall confine my remarks more particularly to them — have proposed that their wages be uniform, as well as adjusted to a fixed standard throughout the entire coal region; equal in all the collieries, and squared by one universal rule. Nothing in reason can be said against this. Is the method they have adopted to accomplish this expedient? Expediency, as I define the phrase, in its present application, is the adoption and pursuit of those means which will best accomplish the purpose in view, viz.: the comfortable support and maintenance of the miner, his wife and his children. Can he serve them better by a general understanding as to the price of his labor, than to act independently? Capital becomes strong by the joinder of individual means. The same rule will apply to labor. One man may make a rule for his own action, but it requires the force of the multitude to give it strength and make its influence respectable.

The united voice of thirty thousand miners is a positive power; that of one man, or twenty men, comparatively nothing. A single man may say, "I will not

resume my labor to-morrow." Who cares? Thirty thousand say they will not, and that voice becomes alarming, particularly to those who have machinery upon the land and ships upon the sea. Commerce cannot afford to furl its sails; the huge mills which forge the iron rails to belt a continent must not remain idle; the various manufacturers, who daily employ and feed thousands upon thousands of men, and accumulate millions upon millions of capital, must move on. To stop, would make a jar in the financial world. "The lame ducks" would flutter in Wall Street! Capital would turn over on its gilded couch. It might probably issue a suppressed groan. Money is sensitive, even as the delicate nerves of the bed-ridden patient. In this case a doctor is sometimes necessary; but the toiling laborer of the dark chambers of the damp, wet, and gaseous colliery is the doctor of the steam boilers. Let him stop and the boilers will throw off no steam. It is true he toils on in the dark, appeasing his hunger with the plain and scanty viands in his tin can; in silence he eats his frugal meal, lights his blackened pipe, and resumes his labor again, unknown to the busy, whirling world above him; but, nevertheless, he is laying the corner-stone of some palatial residence. A philosopher and man of science, in his way, Dr. HUXLEY, defines "*science to be a trained and organ-*



*ized common sense.*" He is therefore at the head of his profession, and with his long-continued application and practice he knows where to put the blast — how to separate the coal from the slate. This is science and of the highest order relating to his trade. His labor makes up the busy, bustling mart of trade, manufacturing, and commerce. Look at the long, lumbering trains of cars of coal, dashing on to the seaboard, almost countless. These are the evidence of his toil. And so on, from the beginning to the end of the year.

Can you blame him because he wants a just compensation for his labor? He reads in his Bible that "the laborer is worthy of his hire." As he trudges morning and night, to and from the scene of his labors, he sees other people surrounded with comforts and indulging in luxuries, living under their own roofs and basking in prosperity.

He must think, because God has endowed him with intellect, and thinking, he must compare his situation with others. He resolves that he will turn his labor to the best account. Is he in the wrong? Let those who think so exchange situations with him.

The thirty thousand men toiling in the mines in Luzerne, Schuylkill, and Carbon, are a power in themselves. A larger number than Washington commanded in the founding of an empire. They hold

the political balance of the three counties in their hand. Acting in accord and as by one voice, they can dictate the terms of labor. But while they ask the employer to be just to them, they must alike be just to others as well as to him. There is no reason to suppose that they will not. Their conduct in the past has not shown it; the future does not indicate it. They have a duty to perform to themselves as well as to the State. In the discharge of this they must act fearlessly and like men. A prayer made and not answered, has resulted in resisting force. Is there any feasible way left them but to unite in co-operative measures?

If unions be inexpedient to settle the question of adequate pay for labor, can capital suggest what shall be expedient? We hear of no satisfactory substitute. We therefore conclude that unions are expedient. In this way labor can take care of itself. I see no other available way by which it can live and THRIVE. To live merely, is not the question. This is the position that capital puts labor in. Even life, without its comforts, is but a small affair. No man of genuine feeling can be happy surrounded by half-clad, hungry children. That cry of children for bread is terrible; and yet the great manufacturing towns of the Old World hear it daily. Our great cities are but their counterpart. The country is better, but let capital

have full sway and country and city will soon run in the same groove.

Laboring men, men of the mines, stand firmly by your union. It has cost you many privations to reach the position of dictation that you enjoy to-day. To abandon your position you sink your manhood. Your own self-respect demands it: the welfare of your wives and children demands it; the public morals demand it; and the cause of progress demands it.

The tone and character of the State are formed, and particularly so in a republic, from the elevated or depressed condition of the masses. If they are prosperous and happy, the State will be prosperous; but if the masses are debased and impoverished, the State becomes a byword and a reproach among the nations. Show me a united and happy people, and I will show you a powerful State. The laboring masses form the vast majority of the body politic.

The laboring man should therefore realize enough from his daily occupation that he may be enabled to appear decently clad; he should have all the necessities of life upon his table; his children should be properly fed, clothed, and educated. Then he will respect himself, be respected by his family, and will have his share of influence in the community where he lives. He will thus be a man among men. If he be independent in his circumstances he will be resolute

and bold ; his property will make him feel that he is entitled to a voice in the public affairs. He will feel as though he were upon an equality with the best.

A feeling of poverty debases and humiliates. Penury and want beget cowardice. To make good citizens it requires men of spirit and men of opinions. The poor and the outcast have no confidence in themselves. The man who does not feel that he is necessary to the public, or who feels that the public is better off without him, is no man at all. What kind of a State would such a class of men produce ? Of what consequence are the tenantry of England, but to hew wood and draw water for the nobility ? They belong to the lord of the manor ; they swell his pageant ; they are the servants of his will, because they have no will of their own ! They are not of the State, and the landed aristocrat places them upon the same catalogue with his horses and hounds, but they are not fed half so well. God forbid that the laboring men of this land shall ever permit themselves to be sunk to such a level. If ever they are, it will be their own folly which does it.

No, the laboring men of this country have the power of respectability in their own hands. They are at fault themselves if they do not take a stand in society which will command the respect and admiration of their fellow-citizens. Unions and co-operative measures can accomplish this end.

The influence produced by the association and united action of laboring men not only makes its impression upon their own social condition, but also upon the whole community around them. Their number being so largely in the majority, their conduct, actions, and social condition must, in a great measure, constitute the moral and social tone of the public. If this is to be elevated and respectable, the condition of labor must be such as will make it so. Make labor disreputable and debased, and just so far will the public standard be reduced in the social scale; for laboring men make the majority, and that very majority, under our form of government, will elevate or depress the standard of the public welfare and morals.

To illustrate this position, we will assume that among laboring men there are no combinations or unions. We will retrace history in the mining region for a period of twenty years. Go back to that time when every miner availed himself of the best wages he could get, dependent totally upon the whim or caprice of the man who employed him. It is of very modern date, indeed, when the miner received any money for his labor. His pittance came through the company's store. Capital put a good profit on its calico and mackerel; and the delver in the dark chamber below at the end of the month came out in debt, and the chances

were that his wages were reduced for the next month, unless that same balance was paid up. His complaint amounted to nothing; he stood alone, and his weakness humiliated him. He could not, as in these days of combinations and unions, fall back upon the solid resolves of thirty thousand associates. The working men's sun had not then arisen above the disc of the horizon. There was not even then the star of hope and promise, at least in this hemisphere. Reform had made some inroads in the British Islands, but none here.

Supposing a miner, at the period we are speaking of, resided in a rented tenement, and had a wife and family dependent upon him for support. All that this wife and children consumed or wore were the result of the man's labor. There was no friendly acre of God's earth to add its fruit to that labor; the meagre fare upon the pine table, the bare floor, the half-ceiled apartment, the shivering, half-fed and half-clothed wife and children, all told the horrid tale of squalid poverty and want.

The rent had been deducted, the remaining portion exhausted, as the big ledger of capital clearly exhibited, and what was in the future? Even if health were prolonged, the future was covered up in gloom and despondency; but if this failed, what then? One familiar with such sights may possibly read these lines, and some one may read them, too, who from sad

*God speed the cause of the poor*

experience may be better qualified to answer the question from his own knowledge. Suppose the individual to be the type of one hundred laboring men, and the whole community at the colliery to consist of five hundred men, women, and children : these one hundred men establish for weal or woe the social and moral condition of that community.

Every sensible man must know that crime and drunkenness and all manner of vice ever have and ever will follow in the broad trail of want and destitution. The slums and purlieus of our large cities show this to be the fact. Man, to be respectable in his own estimation, in that of his family and his neighborhood, must have the means of living above absolute want. He must be happy and contented in mind, his children must be comfortably clothed and fed, and there must at least be the semblance of thrift about him, or he must indeed be a strange creature if he does not assume a moody and morose aspect.

Despair and blighted hope first rule in his mind ; then come the animal passions, such as intemperance, neglect of the family obligations, ill temper, and then crime. Half the crime committed in the land arises from a want of the necessities of life at the start. It is small delinquencies, increasing in magnitude, that finally culminate in those of larger proportions.

Labor is everywhere underrated in the social scale, and this arises from the fact that it is not properly paid. Pay it as it should be, and it assumes that dignity to which Providence assigned it. But the effort will be in vain to make it respectable in the neglected care that capital has bestowed upon it in the past. Laboring men themselves must do this.

Show me a prosperous state, a flag respected and honored, civilization and refinement well advanced, a happy and contented people, and I will show you labor dignified. This lies at the very foundation, and without it there is no real prosperity in the State. Tell me what kind of government we would have were the whole laboring population of the character I have stated,—existing twenty years back, in the history of our mines. Men half fed, children brought up in ignorance; exposure and want weakening the constitution of both father and child; premature old age, unavoidable disease. Are these the men to fill the armed ranks of war? To raise the strong arm against civil commotion, insurrection, and rebellion? To fix the grade and standard of a healthful and well-ordered society? To make the free States of America what they should be in the world's estimation?

But the past has undergone change. Progress has hitched it on to its train. Combinations of laboring men have lifted the condition of labor out of the



ditch. They begin to feel that they have got their strong hand upon the rudder, and that they can guide and direct the craft. "In union there is strength."

In process of time the mining villages will become cleared of those heaps of coal banks and rubbish; the slab tenements will give place not to tenement houses of capital, but to comfortable houses, the fee of which shall be vested in those who occupy them. Well-dressed, smiling, happy children shall play in the neat little enclosures in front, and the whole appearance of the mining village shall have inscribed in large characters all over it, CIVILIZATION; and it will not be a strange sound, as Mr. McDonald the other evening remarked at a public lecture in Wilkes Barré, "to hear the tones of a piano in the miner's house."

A strange contrast, indeed, between the children of laboring men now and those of a quarter of a century ago. Sad, indeed, would be the history in detail of the manufactories and mines of the world at that period, if it could be written. Immensity is the word which would be applied to the grand aggregate of suffering sustained by feeble children who were compelled to waste their very existence for bread. The complaint on this score came up year after year to the legislature of Pennsylvania, that children, even under ten years of age, were actually labor-

ing sixteen hours daily in the manufacturing establishments.

"The fathers," in the plenitude of their mercy and the outgushing of their generosity, limited the time that these poor little creatures should work to **TEN HOURS** in the day! Wonderful condescension! Exalted statesmanship! True, they made thirteen years of age a limit, and classified children and adults alike as to the ten-hour law. This statute was passed June 15, 1836, and included "cotton, woollen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories." So it stood thirty-three years ago. There was no one, however, to speak for the children of miners. There seemed to have been no Solon with the necessary forecast of judgment to grapple the idea, that there were any other children whose toil should be limited to ten hours a day but those specified in the above-named factories.

And so they contented themselves with the agreeable and soothing reflection that thenceforward no child under thirteen years of age should work in the factories designated, and if over that age, not exceeding **TEN HOURS** a day! In any other situation a child might labor sixteen hours out of the twenty-four, without regard to its age, health, or condition. Capital, with its Christian emotions and charitable impulses, was made the foster-mother and wet-nurse of juvenile laborers! How well the old dame

did and does now provide for her sucklings, let the past and the present pronounce judgment! But were I an orphan boy of ten years, without money or without friends, I cannot say that I would want "woollen, or cotton, or bagging, or flax factories" as my guardian and next friend. I would as soon take the chances of Little Red Riding Hood, in Mother Goose's history, and would probably survive about the same length of time as we are informed that young lady did after she was told "to pull the string and the latch would fly up!"

How contented we are under congenial influences produced by a good dinner and a flowing glass! The stern legislator of 1836, sitting after dinner with his feet upon the fender, and puffing away at his Habana, watching the smoke curling in waves to the ceiling, and enveloped in his own agreeable thoughts of having discharged his duty to his God, his country, and the human family generally, in timing the day's labor of a child of thirteen years to ten hours a day — only ten hours! That is, in the said "cotton, woollen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories!" But outside of these same "cotton, woollen, silk, paper, bagging, and flax factories," any number of hours and stripes, we presume, might be put upon a child of any age, in any other occupation. Legislation has been somewhat more provident in England, though Mr. McDonald

informed us that the trades' unions established the price of labor as well as the number of hours that should make a day's work, and also the age of children, which was sixteen years, when they should go into the mines. These rules afterwards became absolute throughout the kingdom, by act of Parliament.

Custom and usage when backed by unanimous consent become as binding as the law. Custom is the law, because the usage and consent of a whole community will it.

If capital does not now see it will be made to see that its true prosperity lies not in the oppression and degradation of labor, but in affording it such a reasonable compensation as it is entitled to have. This remuneration may as well be at once conceded ; if it is not, combination will most assuredly enforce it. Confederate power of the masses has already done much, but much more remains to be done.

Cheap labor never accomplished any substantial good to either employer or employé, to the State or to mankind. The very fact of labor being cheap implies a degraded condition of the laboring man. It shows conclusively that the article is not in demand, or it would not be cheap. Like any other commodity that will not demand a living price, its quantity will necessarily deteriorate, till it becomes completely

worthless. I speak more particularly of cheap labor among men. I do not include serfs, slaves, or coolies, who work under the lash and in chains. I speak of free men — men who live in the United States, and are of the nineteenth century, who have a voice in the government, who go to the polls, who feel that they have something to live for besides their daily rations of corn meal and molasses, and who have the capacity to think, feel, and realize that there is a world to come.

Among this class cheap labor is a disaster, and along with it is necessarily involved the community to which they belong, and of which they are the chief ingredients.

Cheap labor disgraces the era of its existence. Its characters are legible, plain, and unmistakable, but they leave no splendid records of its own age which are to us models worthy of imitation. Cheap labor marks the epochs of degenerate times, of barbarism, superstition, and ignorance.

Cheap labor erected the Cyclopean walls of Greece, Asia Minor, and Southern Italy, ages upon ages before it gathered together the huge rocks of the Nile, and piled them up into pyramids. It also raised from the plane the immense mounds of the valley of the Mississippi, and shaped the TEOCALI of Mexico.

But what do these commemorate? The degradation

of labor. They show that a race of men lived, built these vast monuments, defended them, and died. But the names of the men, nay even the races, in some instances, are buried in the past. Cheap labor is written all over them, and they are fearful mementos of man's slavery, want, suffering, and woe. Science and civilization were not cotemporaneous with these efforts of human labor and endurance.

Mr. Burckhardt, in his travels in Egypt and Nubia, says "that the ancient Egyptians, with all their boasted wisdom, in most of their great works appear to have had utility very little in view; vanity or superstition being generally the moving principle. The result was splendid palaces, tombs, or temples, by none of which were the people greatly benefited. Canals, bridges, and great public highways, for the making of which no country can possess greater privileges, seem to have been always subordinate in their estimation to dwellings and sepulchres for their kings. The monarch in all such governments being everything, and the people nothing, excepting so far as they be made to minister to their master's pleasure."

Such criticisms will not be applied in the future to the builders of the Pacific Road or the Atlantic Cable. An age is the projector of these which knows how to compensate labor. Works which make civilization are those which furnish us with a true idea of

the social as well as comfortable condition of the masses, because they develop as well as benefit the human race.

At this modern date we look upon the tremendous efforts of past ages, but we discern no lingering or even indistinct impression, that the men whose toil created them were in the remotest degree benefited by them. They speak the history of an age which is silent as to any lasting benefit to the toiling millions contemporaneous with them. Ignorance and cheap labor ever did and ever will travel hand in hand. "The laborer is worthy of his hire." This is the mandate of Christianity. The fulfilment of it is displayed in a larger and brighter civilization. Labor well paid is the corner-stone upon which stands the temple of progress. Its whole secret of success lies in this; abandon the idea, and there is no progress. Ignorance and cheap labor may build mounds and pyramids and walls that will survive a cycle of ages, but while the granite masonry lives, the memory of the immortal hands that gave it form perishes. Not so with steam and telegraphs and iron roads: these are works which bespeak a higher order of things.

At a dinner party several years ago, I inquired of the late Hon. Solomon Foot, who sat next to me, then a United States Senator from Vermont, what was the chief product of his State. He replied, "MEN!" The

most important crop in America, and we should produce them of the best quality — laboring men ; for the remainder are but drones in the national hive. Cheap labor is by no means the fertilizer to bring about the most luxuriant crop ! These laboring men furnish the national standard of worth and respectability.

The slave labor of the South resulted in the absolute and total demoralization of the great middle class ; in fact this class became, in process of a few years, more ignorant, if possible more debased, than the slave population. The planter (a term in the North identical with capital) and his immediate associates became, in the cant language of the day, respectable ; but the middle class which, under all forms of government and in all parts of the enlightened world, constitute that body upon which the State rests its power, in the South became degenerated in mind, and degenerated in physical power and self-regard, so that the slaves knew them only as "THE POOR WHITE TRASH." And depending upon the support of "this poor white trash" to fill the ranks of their armies, they failed to make rebellion a success. This class of men, who give us a proper idea of the depressing influence of cheap labor, were as ignorant and uncultivated as the hordes who swarmed around the standard of Attila. Goth nor Hun were more ignorant than they.

County after county in the South had not even a



weekly newspaper. The poor white laborer gathered what little he knew from the tradition of his fathers, or from the mouths of negroes, which they had picked up by the wayside, and in the market towns, where they sold their master's potatoes. I have myself seen and conversed with people of this stamp, who really believed that Abraham Lincoln was a Congo negro, and that, if they were taken prisoners of war by the savage soldiers of the Northern army, they would be roasted and eaten. All this is fact! What a commentary on cheap and half-paid labor!

The history of the Southern States is replete with the sad consequences which cheap labor entails. Its monuments of ignorance, its debauched poor white class of people, are there, and it will require ten generations to efface them. The universal policy of the planter was to make labor mean and disreputable. In the proportion that labor descended the scale in respectability, his position became exalted. People generally judge by comparison. The depression of labor to effect his purposes was a necessity, because intelligence would not accept the situation. Laboring white men became poor, ignorant, and superstitious. They necessarily became jealous as well as afraid of their superiors. History now informs us of the result of such theories. They are plainly written. Let those who read profit by the example. The master,

educated from his cradle to despise labor, at the same time became impressed with the idea of his superiority over the men of the North, who performed labor.

Heaven's decree is that man SHALL labor, and that this shall detract nothing from his social position. My fear is, that capital in the North is assuming this same false and untenable position. If so, it must expect the same fate if persisted in. I make no discrimination between Southern and Northern men. I can point to hundreds of Southerners whom I have known as upright men and finished gentlemen, models for any society. I speak of the debasing character of slave labor.

Money in its proper place is indispensable, under our views of the wants incident to civilization. But no real and true friend of humanity, who has a proper regard for the rights of man, would like to see money king. Money has no brains; money is severe, exacting, tyrannical. Money has no heart; money demands the "pound of flesh," and will have it. As "it is written in the bond," so it must be. Money therefore must not be king; the sceptre, so far as good morals and the general welfare are concerned, is much safer in the big, strong, rough hand of the working million.

In thus speaking of capital, we would not create, if in our power, a popular prejudice against it. It is no part of our purpose. We would like to see capital

and labor in accord, travelling along harmoniously together. But it must not rule! The power to rule in this land is in "we, the people." And in order that "we, the people" may know and comprehend what is actually necessary for our "safety and happiness," we must be compensated for our labor so that all our wages shall not be expended in food and raiment, but there must remain a small sum for the proper education of our children.

If the laboring father, therefore, be not properly paid for his toil, he cannot make an intelligent citizen of his son. It is the creed of despotism to keep the masses in ignorance. We have seen the result of this theory fearfully exemplified in the Southern States. Common schools are excellent institutions; they are fountains of learning; they teach man the knowledge of his own individual importance, and somehow they, in the end, impart the very important fact, that it is as well to think for ourselves as to have others do it for us.

Thinking by proxy is at best a miserable subterfuge. But this very faculty, knowledge, will have but a poor and sickly growth if engrafted on the dead, dry, sapless stump of cheap labor. It is a sensitive plant and requires a vigorous trunk, the product of a fertile soil. Free schools, religious toleration, the cultivation of the sacred family relations, these are all an absolute ne

cessity to sustain a high moral and social condition. It can only be promoted by a well-digested and liberal allowance to labor.

The slave trade of this country has cost us THREE THOUSAND MILLIONS of money, and the lives of HALF A MILLION of civilized and enlightened freemen! It has left us a debt the payment of which is among the speculations of the future, — left a nation of crippled men, a land filled with widows and orphans, and a burden of taxation which is absolutely oppressive. These are the bitter fruits of cheap slave labor.

Had the Southern fields been occupied by intelligent, well-paid men, they would not now exhibit the deep furrows made by shot and shell, marks of bloody conflict and intestine war. The cheerful cottage would now stand where the military embankment tells the tale of life-blood shed. These military ruins speak of an aristocracy who lived under the fallacious idea that slavery was the legitimate corner-stone of a polite and refined society. In other words, these ruined homes are but monuments to "cheap labor." But while Scriptural authority was flauntingly thrown out as the strong argument of the slave theory, the Lord did not take his stand on that side, and so the strongest artillery prevailed.

Cheap labor has, therefore, had its day in the South; but it has been a day of severe reckoning, full of

pains and penalties. It will not probably again be made the stumbling-block of any enlightened people on this continent, at least so long as churches, school-houses, and books are fashionable. The laboring men of the country, with their knowledge and intelligence, will not, certainly, possessing as they do the political power of the country, allow the exploded idea of cheap labor ever again to assume the ascendancy.

## CHAPTER VIII.

## CHINESE CHEAP LABOR AND IMMIGRATION.

THE great French philosopher of the eighteenth century, M. De Voltaire, in his Essay on the Manners and Spirit of Nations, in speaking of China uses the following language: "When we mention the wisdom which has presided over the constitution of China these four thousand years, we do not pretend to include the common people, who in all countries must be employed in manual labor. The spirit of a nation is ever confined to the few who employ, who feed, who govern the many. And this spirit of the Chinese nation is doubtless the most ancient monument of reason in the world."

So Voltaire wrote an hundred years ago. Progress, however, during that one hundred years has made deep inroads upon the barbarism of the nations. Since then laboring men have learned "to feed" themselves; that is, in those countries where the dawn of a high civilization has broken and they are no longer dependent on "the few." Those facts which impressed the philosopher at that period as a "monument of reason," fail to stand the test of criticism in the nineteenth century. If we retrace history but two hundred years

before the times of M. De Voltaire, we shall see that even in England, under her boasted constitution and progress, the condition of the laboring man was but one degree above that of the brute.

In the reign of Henry VIII., artificers and laborers were compelled to eat "horse corn" (which we call the coffee bean), peas, oats, tares, and lentils. They slept upon straw, covered themselves with coarse canvas, and lived in straw-thatched hovels of mud, with the bare earth for a floor. They ate their food from wooden trenchers, and their clothing was of the coarsest material."

Egypt, Turkey, and Arabia can boast of a no higher state of civilization to-day, besides adding to this the barbarism of the bastinado and the torture. Robbery was everywhere, in the shape of taxation and utter destitution of the people. But a short time before this, Mr. Playfair informs us, in his history of prices of grain, bread, and labor, that during the last of the sixteenth century in England, "a good mechanic, carpenter, mason, painter, or wheelwright earned a bushel of wheat by working nine days and one-eighth. But two hundred years ago weavers, cloth dressers, and dyers earned each seventeen cents a day, and paid sixty-two cents for the meanest shirt."

I find by a reference to a book on the Social History of Great Britain (I. p. 16), that "two hundred and

fifty years ago a good mechanic could obtain with the wages of one day's labor two pounds and a half of beef or two dozen of eggs. He could earn a hen in one day and a third, a turkey in three or four days, a cauliflower in two days, a pound of potatoes in three days, and coarse linen enough for a shirt in six and a half. A farm laborer earned fourteen cents a day from April to October, and twelve cents a day from October to April, always boarding himself."

I find the following schedule of prices of labor established by the municipal authorities of London a little over three hundred years ago. And what is remarkable, there was a fine and imprisonment imposed upon the laborer if he demanded or received higher wages, as well as upon the employer if he paid more.

I annex the schedule as I find it, remarking that it exhibits the extreme degradation of the laboring classes at a not very remote period in the history of the world:

	Summer.	Winter.
Masons, plasterers, and carpenters per day, without victuals and drink, . . . . .	6d.	5d.
Tilers, without victuals and drink, . . . . .	5½d.	4½d.
Master daubers, builders of cabins of clay and straw, . . . . .	5d.	4d.
Their laborers and assistants, . . . . .	3½.	3d.
Tailors making gowns garnished with serge and sandals, . . . . .	18d.	
Horse-shoeing, six nails, . . . . .	1½d.	
Horse-shoeing, eight nails, . . . . .	2d.	
Taking off horse shoes, . . . . .	½d.	



But even down to a later period, during the reign of Elizabeth, in 1660, or as an Englishman would say, in "the good old times of Queen Bess," that proudest epoch of English history, and that golden era in the history of English labor, the average wages of good mechanics were about one dollar and twenty-five cents per week!

"A good mechanic could then earn a bushel of wheat in seven days, a coarse linen shirt in five days and a half, a common waistcoat in seven days, a pair of strong shoes in eight days, a stuff gown for his wife in seven days, a linsey-woolsey petticoat in five days, and a pair of stockings in one day and four-fifths."

These quotations afford us an idea of cheap labor but a very short period back in the world's history, and we may easily comprehend why VOLTAIRE makes use of the expression that "the spirit of a nation is confined to the few who feed, employ, and govern the many."

Since his day there has been astonishing progress in the condition of the laboring masses in some portions of the globe, and there is yet to be a still greater progress. The laboring man begins to feel that he is not the despised of God, as well as the despised of that higher rank who look down upon him and his with contempt; and, realizing this fact, he is steadily making headway amidst all the obstacles which are before him.

Even in England, where the car of progress has a

sprag on each wheel, the condition of the laboring man has steadily moved onward and upward, and he now enjoys very comfortable wages and his social condition is daily improving. We now and then hear the sound of his voice in Parliament; we trace his footsteps upon the old red sandstone, and we read the Cotter's Saturday Night by the flax-dresser, with tears in our eyes. But to his own indomitable energy and perseverance he is indebted for it all, not to the aid, philanthropy, charity, or facilities afforded by the nobility. He has succeeded in putting his head and shoulders above the surface, amidst a storm of opposition and persecutions untold and without number. His rights have been forcibly wrenched from government, not for the reason that the officials who composed that government were in sympathy with him, but because their own safety was incompatible with resistance to his demands. They were made in earnest, in strong and respectful language. They were not to be denied.

WILLIAM COBBETT, that world-renowned philanthropist, the true friend of the laboring masses and that advocate of free principles, was imprisoned because he dared to speak of man's dignity — laboring man — and this was, if I am correct in my memory, in the present century.

In speaking of popular rights he remarks, "that the people of England have been swept away by the ruth-

less hand of the aristocracy, who, making their approaches by slow degrees, have at last got into their grasp the substance of the whole country."

But if the spirit of WILLIAM COBBETT has lingered about those monster meetings that have lately assembled under the auspices of John Bright, Richard Cobden, and their associates in their great work of REFORM, it must have seen that some of that same "substance" which the nobility monopolized is now finding its way back again to the daubed tenements of mud and straw.

England has some thirty-six thousand land-owners in a population of over twenty millions. Compare this with the United States, where at least every fifth man is a freeholder. Assuming our population to be forty millions, and half that population males, it will show five millions of real-estate owners. This clearly proves that the laboring men in England have reached only the first chapters of the reformation. Progress has made a good beginning there, and a still better one in the United States. But as to the rest of the world, if moving at all, it is with the snail's speed. And were Voltaire living to-day, he would have little occasion to change his text of an hundred years since, save as to the condition of the masses in England and the United States.

The "*fellahs*," Egyptian laborers, engaged in the

digging of the Suez Canal, just now completed, were paid *eight cents* a day, they "finding" themselves. In Spain the wages of common labor are *thirty cents* a day without food. The peasantry of France receive about the same, and so in Italy. The German States do somewhat better; but China (of which it is my design to speak more at length, because capital has turned its avaricious eye in that direction for a bountiful *importation* of cheap labor) does not pay more than one-ninth of the sum allowed in France or Spain, or a fiftieth of the wages of ordinary labor in the United States!

A common laborer in China receives about *three cents* a day! and these are the many "who are fed and employed and governed by the few." They have no part nor lot in giving caste or color to the spirit of the nation. The laboring Chinese peasant, after the manner of his ancestry four thousand years ago, yokes his wife and donkey to the plough, and with whip in hand, which he indiscriminately applies to his team, goes to the field of his daily employment. It does not seem strange, therefore, to conclude that such specimens of humanity would not add much to the spirit of a nation, unless it be the spirit of debasement. Nor does his diet of vermin add enough to his physical man to make him a terror in the camp.

Cheap labor debases national character in precisely

the same proportion that well-paid labor elevates the national character. It is, therefore, the few in China who must mould the spirit of that nation, but in this country the many. And may it ever remain so, is the fervent prayer of him who pens these lines.

Neither the philosophy of Confucius, nor the conquests of Genghis Khan, the Napoleonic Tartar, seem to have made inroads upon the social condition of the toiling millions of China. That Mongol race, numbering three hundred and sixty millions, or nearly a third of the whole population of the habitable globe, is the same to-day in literature, religion, and barbarism that it was at the birth of Christ, and for thousands of years preceding it. The emperor is even now, under the blazing sun of a high civilization, worshipped as a god and called the "Son of Heaven" by his subjects. In his hands are the balances of life and death and torture.

True, it is the oldest government on earth. It has survived many of its contemporaries: Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Greece, and Rome. These have had their rise, decline, and fall. China boasts of her chronology of eighteen thousand years.

But what does this long line of years of successful government prove but man humiliated, man debased?

It is a standing and universal maxim among this

people, "*that it is better to be a dog in peace, than a man in anarchy, and that the worst of men are fond-est of change and commotion.*"

Had the people of England and the United States adopted this maxim, and made it the cardinal rule of their actions, they would be living upon "horse-corn, beans, peas, and lentils" to-day. And instead of comfortable houses, they would occupy daubed walls of mud and straw, with bare earth for a floor. Revolution and anarchy are really virtues when the tyrannical heel is upon the people's neck. They become political purifiers — in the same way as lightning purifies the atmosphere.

The rights of man have ever been, and ever will be, asserted by the energy and united power of the common people. If they remain supine and indifferent they are lost. It was under this influence that the great heart of PATRICK HENRY gushed out with the memorable expression, in the Virginia House of Delegates, of "*Give me liberty or give me death.*"

Until the Chinese masses shall abandon the maxim, "that it is better to be a dog in peace than a man in anarchy and commotion," they may safely calculate to find themselves in the same slavish condition at the end of the next eighteen thousand years that they are now in, and with the same fare of roasted dog and fried rat upon their table. If they have the

necessary intelligence to cast their eyes around the world, and realize the fact that other nations are advancing in refinement, culture, and knowledge, they will see by comparison the folly of adhering to the maxim.

The chronology of eighteen thousand years is certainly very respectable, but the results, save in the maintenance of one form of government, amount in reality to but little. Confucius wrote 500 years B. C., and laid down some very wise and well-digested rules for the guidance as well as observance of the people of his country. He has had, however, no successor either capable of enlarging or improving on his philosophy — nor do the masses seem to have been very much benefited by it. They are travelling on in the same paths of their ancestors, with neither the desire nor seeming ability to change their condition for the better.

Their great wall of masonry, stretching out its leviathan length for fifteen hundred miles over rivers and mountains, with its range of towers, is a wonder showing what unpaid labor can do; but its object and design, as a military defence, is an exemplification of human weakness and stupidity.

This vast country, with its territorial domain nearly equal to the dimensions of the United States, with one-third of the population of the globe, has no vacant

room to be occupied. Every square acre of land is literally covered with human creatures, every plain and valley, every mountain and morass. The hive is filled, literally filled; it must swarm, and the shores of those countries in the nearest vicinity must prepare for the exodus.

Steam and railroads and electric wires have brought the nations heretofore most remote face to face. Canton and San Francisco, six thousand miles apart, are relatively as near together as were New York and St. Louis a quarter of a century back. The States of the western slope of the Rocky Mountains have now some two hundred thousand Chinese. Wherever these people have immigrated, heretofore, they have sponged up the life resources of the people among whom they have intruded.

The island of Java has been for some years past the receptacle of Chinese immigration, and the staid, sober, and industrious habits of the German population have been forced to give way, until John is now emphatically the master of the situation.

Mr. Pumpelly, in his recent book, entitled "Across America and Asia," says that "there are now 150,000 Chinese in Java. Beginning on their arrival as coolies and laborers, they soon accumulated enough to live independently, and many of them amassed large fortunes. They have obtained nearly the monopoly of



the native produce and an uncontrolled command of the market for foreign commodities. Their industry embraces *the whole* system of commerce, from the greatest wholesale speculation to the most minute branches of the retail trade. In their hands are all the manufactories, distilleries, potteries, etc., and they have large coffee and sugar plantations. They are equally well adapted for trade or agriculture."

The same author informs us that in the English colony of Singapore 50,000 out of a population of 80,000 are Chinamen ; that nearly all the trade is under their control, and this represented in 1867 \$35,000,000 imports and \$28,700,000 exports ; and that "they are absorbing every department of labor."

He also states that "the growth of Chinese population and industry in the East Indian Archipelago is already a matter of great significance." In speaking of the immigration (importation) of Chinese into California, he says "they are found now in woollen, paper, and powder mills ; in the borax works, fruit orchards, vineyards, and on the hop plantations ; following the reaping machines on farms, and working in the salt pits on the coast ; doing almost universally the cooking, and engaged in hundreds of branches of industry that would be impossible without their cheap labor. The result of this will be that in a few years the small savings of these workmen will, by accumulation, trans-

form the coolie of to-day into the capitalist, contracting to build railroads, owning large farms or factories, and lines of ships, and making great commercial combinations. This is certain, for no people on the face of the earth advance so unswervingly in the accumulation of capital; and in its investment from childhood upward they combine the shrewdness of the Jew with the many-sidedness of the Yankee. What the Jews have been in banking, the Chinese may easily become in general commerce and industry on the Pacific coast."

If, therefore, these reflections of the author we have quoted are correct, and there is no good reason, in my judgment, for the contrary, then, in a national point of view, this question of Chinese importation is not only an important, but *an alarming* one.

Java and Singapore, and those numerous and productive islands which dot the ocean from China to California, known as the East Indian Archipelago, have already absolutely yielded to these swarms of adventurers. They control the commerce and industry of these places. They are the representative race! The Dutch and English are to all intents and purposes supplanted in these islands. It is, too, the work of but a few years; and there may not possibly be one in a hundred thousand of the people of the United States who is aware of these facts. It is quite time that our people — those who are not only directly but indirectly inter-

ested in the question of labor—should examine this subject.

It is a truth that the policy of the United States has ever been, and it is to be hoped ever will be, to encourage immigration. We hold forth to Europe the invitation "to come"; that this is the asylum of the oppressed. But the true construction to be placed upon this general invitation is, of course, limited to that proud Caucasian race and its thousands of descendants, who have given to Europe and its adjacent islands the real, genuine, and unmistakable stamp of perfect manhood—an elevation of intellect and personal dignity and presence only found in the Caucasian race; a race of men who have the natural fortitude to resist wrong, and intelligence enough to know what true liberty and freedom are, and knowing them, know how to appreciate and defend them.

The tide of immigration which has been, for almost an hundred years, gradually increasing its numbers, and which has added immensely to our population, has borne to us white men of our own ancestry, imbued with the same religious principles, and endowed with the same intellect.

These are the Celtic, Teutonic, Norman, and Saxon races, who believe in the existence of a God, and a state of future rewards and punishments. The countrymen of Charlemagne and Frederick the Great, of Napoleon

and Nelson, of Burke and Sheridan, and Llewellyn and the Bruce and Glendower! The men who have thus far peopled the United States are descendants of this class.

For one, I say let there be no change. We have seen and realized, too, the consequences of the importation of an inferior black race; and now we are about to encounter another, whose intelligence and manners and customs are of about the same standard.

Every American is charged with the very important duty, which alike concerns themselves and those who are to follow them, and that is to see that no harm comes to the Republic. And while it is a part of our creed in politics to tolerate all creeds in religion, it may be questioned whether we want any of the temples of Buddha, or any of his machines for grinding out prayers, or want his gigantic image of wood encased in sheets of gilded copper, for our worship. We tolerate all religions; it is the part of wisdom to do so, but we all should see to it that Paganism, which denies the existence of, and accountability to, a Supreme creative power, must not obtain a permanent foothold on this virgin Continent. Should the people, who now hold in their hands its destiny, permit this, they will have failed to fulfil the sacred trust committed to them by their fathers.

That religion which ignores the existence of a God

is no religion. It does not, therefore, come within the rule of religious toleration. The nation cannot exist with the privileges and blessings which it now enjoys, if thrown back upon Paganism, — the worship of idols of brass and stone. Such things are incompatible with the liberty and freedom we enjoy, and the high civilization that surrounds us.

These people from China, who now number two hundred thousand, are the advance guard of millions who will follow, if permitted by the government. They already have a Buddhist temple, with its brazen gods, in San Francisco. What is their creed?

We are informed by those who have examined this matter, that the dogmas of Buddha are substantially these: "that there is no existence, no substance, no world; consequently all that existence pre-supposes is wanting; there is no first cause, no deity. All is nothing, will be nothing; all things are unreal, and non-existence is the only reality. The presence of the ever-changing world is only a conceit, a result of the belief in its reality. All that exists, *i.e.* seems to exist, is subject to the four great evils: birth, sickness, old age, death, and to the pains arising from these. Salvation is nothing else but *nirvana*, *i.e.*, the entire extinction of man; the return of the individual nothing into the primeval state of non-existence."

Webster defines religion to be "a belief in the being

and perfections of God, and in the relation of His will to man; in a state of rewards and punishments, and in man's accountability to God."

This is the religious toleration of the Constitution, but not paganism and image worship.

No enlightened country, where labor is properly rewarded, will tolerate such a religion, if indeed it can be so classified.

Mr. Pumpelly speaks of a praying machine which he saw in operation in one of the Buddhist temples:

"There were many cylinders, or praying machines, which were easily set in motion by turning a crank, each revolution accomplishing in the way of prayer an amount of work which if done verbally would require some hours. Sometimes the crank is attached to water-wheels and wind-mills. The worshipper, setting one of these in motion, goes on his way with the assurance that every revolution of the cylinder completes a large number of prayers for his benefit."

These are the creeds of paganism, which these same Chinese importations are bringing to this country. And well may they be entertained by a people who are governed by the maxim, "that it is better to be a dog in peace, than a man in anarchy and commotion."

Monuments to cheap and unrequited labor! And yet capital, with its determined will, is holding out in-

duancements to fill this land with this class of human cattle. How is it to be prevented?

It may be said that the large population of the United States will present an impassable barrier to the establishment of Chinese customs within their borders. So it will if the same relation exists as to the numerical strength between our people and the Chinese now here. But with an influx continuing for the next century, with its annual increase, compared with the last decade, and we shall have more of these people than we can dispose of, if it shall become necessary to do so. With all the guards and checks which this government was able to devise against the slave trade, for a half century the traffic still went on. It culminated at length in a destructive power that nearly blotted out the nation, for the establishment of two republics would have been equivalent to that.

The country is now in a state of agitation to know what to do with the four millions of negroes released from bondage; ten times that number of Chinese, would add just ten times the difficulties we now labor under. But the most serious part of the trouble arising under Chinese importation is the debasement of labor, by the reduction of it in price to a point where Chinamen will thrive, but where the Anglo-Saxon would die before he would suffer himself to come down to the Chinese standard. This he will never do;

his education, his superior intelligence, his habits of life, his food and raiment, present objections that are insurmountable. It cannot be. The higher the standard of civilization, the more numerous are the wants of the laboring man. Custom has already made many of the luxuries of life almost absolute necessities. The laboring men of this country occupy a position, socially, that is not enjoyed elsewhere. This is a necessity of free government. It is the great counterpoise and regulator of democratic institutions.

Can, therefore, any reasonable man, who feels an interest in the success and permanency of free government and the welfare and happiness of that immense class, the laboring men of the country, desire for an instant the exchange of such a state of things, by the introduction of Chinese coolies, and the consequent result of the complete demoralization of the great majority of his countrymen? Cheap labor may, in this way, be reached. But who wants cheap labor if the tendency and result undermines that very system of government which is probably the most perfect of any system heretofore devised by man?

In this particular capital is over-reaching itself. It is making temporary provision for a fancied want that will assuredly recoil on itself.

But let us examine this question irrespective of the religious phase, and under the supposition that the



Chinese race can never, by any possibility, obtain the political controlling power in the Union. Look at it as a mere competition of labor.

Our population includes, probably, twenty millions of males. Deduct from this number one-third for minors under twenty-one years of age, drones of the public hive, — made up principally of dandies, political hacks, and light-fingered gentry, and of no account, — adults engaged in occupations of various kinds not coming under the definition of labor as the phrase is generally understood, and there remains some thirteen millions of laboring men in the United States. Of these the great majority are wholly dependent upon the work of their own hands for their daily bread. These men hold the political power of the country; they are its bulwarks, its support, and its defence. Their social condition establishes the national character, "the manners and spirit of the nation." For we must bear in mind that crowned heads nor princes, nor a hereditary nobility, have anything to do in the establishment of the sentiment and tone of the country.

Ours is not such a population as occupied the mind of Voltaire, when he adopted the rule that it was "the few who formed the spirit of a nation." The Great Republic, whose destiny it was to reverse this rule, had scarcely in his day an existence. It is "the many" here. That same class in most other countries

who are fed, and clothed, and employed by the "few," are in this the masters. They repudiate the Chinese maxim, "that it is better to be a dog in peace than a man in anarchy and commotion." To reach the position they have attained they have nobly dispelled and trodden anarchy under foot. Anarchy has gone back to chaos; the aristocracy could not stand before revolutionary bayonets, and man here has asserted his dignity, and he has the courage and spirit to maintain it.

Will the toiling, laboring men of this country permit — aye, that is the word, *permit* — the continual alighting of these Chinese swarms upon our shores? Like the locusts of Egypt, they will eat up the substance of the land; nay, they will do more — they will blot out that fair type of progressive manhood which has ennobled the nation. A peaceable, sober, industrious, intellectual, and liberty-loving people have made this country what it is. Upon their stout shoulders rests the ark of the political covenant. The chief article in that is, that man, *laboring man*, has the capacity to govern himself; that jewelled crowns, royal robes and ribbons are not the order of the day here. It is not a government for the benefit of the few, but the many; and that the many may rule with honor and dignity to themselves, and command the respect of other nations, they must avoid becoming paupers.

They must be better fed, better clothed, better sheltered, and better educated than that Mongol race which capital is seeking to transplant on American soil. An exotic plant, in our judgment, that will require a *hot-house* for its culture, before its success is fully and permanently established! American and Chinese labor cannot exist together. Where a conflict has occurred with other peoples, the Chinese have sponged them up; in Java, in Singapore, and in the islands of the Indian Archipelago, they are supreme.

They are now making rapid strides towards the monopoly of labor in California. The shaved heads are on the summit of the Rocky Mountains; their eye is making a reconnoissance of the prairies and plains which stretch out towards the rising sun.

Buddha, with his brazen hands and feet and arms, and ghastly smile, is seated in his Pagan temple in San Francisco.

Are the laboring men of this country prepared to yield to the secondary position of the people of Java? Nay, is capital prepared to yield? For we learn that where John has become master he rules "on change;" he fills the commercial mart; he owns the ships and the manufactories; he owns the plantations, and in the language of Mr. Pumpelly, "what the Jews have been in banking, the Chinese may

easily become in general commerce and industry on the Pacific coast."

It should, therefore, behoove capital not to be too persuasive in its invitations to innumigrants. It may find that "the Greeks" are at its door. If American and Chinese labor cannot live in accord, which will capital prefer? Pay the sons of our soil a fair compensation, with prosperity, or take cheap John for a ruler, with adversity? The question is of easy solution; a child can give the answer.

But to go back to the inquiry. If John is harmless has he any business here? Can the nation afford to sink the high standard of the laboring man in the social scale? Has it the power to do so? Bring down the price of our labor by competition with Chinese, and so much you lower the flag! The power and influence of that, at home and abroad, is measured by the intellectual standard of the masses. To make them the representative of a ruling class they must be educated; to be educated requires liberal pay for wages. The introduction of Chinese cheap labor is the first step towards ignorance, because it lessens the means of living, measured by our American customs; and the demoralization of the masses will inevitably follow.

Here labor is honorable, because it is well paid, and those who labor have a voice in the public affairs.

John is a slave ; he was born a slave, educated a slave ; he has slavish propensities ; he obeys his masters ; he cringes ; he fawns ; he does not aspire to equality, much less to command, *i.e.*, while in the minority ; but when he becomes the master, John's humiliation assumes a very different shade. As to the idea of bringing him up to the American standard in moral, social, and religious culture, it cannot be done. You may reduce that standard to him, but you cannot bring him up to it. When the leopard changes his spots, and the Ethiopian his skin, it may be done. The Jesuits have been laboring for five hundred years to Christianize him, but they have most signally failed. He is wedded to his idols, and there he will remain.

The national legislature should prohibit the importation of Chinese. This nation has had a surfeit of negro importation. Four millions of them have caused a civil war of magnitude, which is without a parallel in the world's history. The legislature should do more ; it should *prevent their immigration*. It may seem proscriptive, but self-preservation is the first law of nature. With no more force does the maxim apply to men than nations. It is a duty which this nation owes to its founders, as well as to posterity, that it should preserve the high and exalted position of civilization which now exists. The introduction of this Mongol race is in opposition to the idea. The influences of the

customs and laws and government of the United States are gradually extending throughout the globe, at least the enlightened part of it. This should not cease. We have a people here whose blood comes down through the veins of a brave, proud, and intellectual European ancestry—men who fear and believe in a Supreme Being ; who believe in, and are influenced by, the doctrine of future rewards and punishments ; who pray with their mouths and hearts, not with machines ; who worship a spiritual, invisible God, — not a visible god with arms and legs of copper and brass ; who see and realize that there is a creative power in the firmament, the motion and grandeur of the heavenly bodies, in the ocean and in the everlasting rocks ; who take the revelation of God for their law, and who square the actions of their lives by it. These are the people who now hold and rule the Western Hemisphere. Who would see it changed ?

Whoever may denounce these doctrines as those of an alarmist does not appreciate the situation. And now is the time to assert and maintain them. When the Chinese become the owners of the farms, the manufacturing, the mills, the mines, and the ships, it will be too late.

I wish to cast no reproach nor excite ill will or hatred against, any of God's creatures ; they are all of His handiwork, made for designs and purposes beyond

our comprehension. Let the spaces and distances, alike as to geographical limits and mental capacity, remain as He established them. Congo for the negro, and Asia for the Chinese ; there they belong, and there let them remain. This continent, as well as its great and vast facilities, belongs by conquest to a higher caste of men than either of those named. Its occupation has been reserved, through countless cycles of time, for the men who now stand upon its soil, and blind and prejudiced against his own race and color is he who cannot see, feel, and appreciate the fact.

Laboring men may here not merely assert, but maintain, if they will, perfect and exact equality. I mean *the* men of that caste who have made the country what it is ; for them it is none too large. There is no room here for China or Japan, Polynesia or Africa. It is American, as we understand that word, and for the occupation solely of those who are of the same race with us.

## CHAPTER IX.

## MINERS' "BASIS" AND RAILROAD MONOPOLY.

HAVING disposed of the subject of Chinese cheap labor, and the effects, in our judgment, it would have upon the interests of the laboring men of this country, as also upon the form and character of the government itself, I will retrace my steps and treat upon those matters which most intimately concern mine labor in our immediate vicinity, *i.e.* the Anthracite Coal Region.

One of the chief results of unions and co-operative measures recently has been the establishment of a "basis." This word, within the last twelvemonth, has become significant, and has a meaning, as used by miners, somewhat different from the one given in lexicons. It is defined to be "the foundation of a thing." But the miners use the term as expressing "the foundation" of the price of labor, when it is really "the foundation of the price of coal." But they understand it, and capital is *beginning* to understand it. I shall use the word basis in the miners' acceptance of it.



We all know pretty well what is meant by it; there is no necessity in cavilling as to the literal meaning of the word. By the word basis, then, we come at the scale by which the miner measures the compensation of the day's labor. All that is realized on the sale of a ton of coal, at the market depot, over and above the price established by the union, adds a certain percentage to the mine labor.

The miners have a right to, and by a general combination to enforce it. There is no more *conspiracy* in it than we have already seen in a combination to work, or play, as may suit the whim or caprice of those who combine together. In other language, the coal sales increase or diminish the price of labor, according as it rises or falls in the market. Now as to the justness of making the laborer's wages depend upon the market price of coal, we must bear in mind that while the laborer is not the owner of the colliery, nor has any part in the profits or management of the same, he is the mainspring or motive power upon which the success of the colliery depends. He holds it in his hands; it moves or remains inactive at his will. And here comes in that great conservative power, that unity of action, that empire within an empire, known as a miners' UNION.

Like all other combinations, its strength lies in the

collection of fractional parts, comparatively weak while separate, but irresistible when cemented and bound together. A complete and graphic illustration of the fable of the old man and his sons and the bundle of sticks, easily snapped and broken when separate, but together invincible.

Now while this element of power holds the relations which it does to the mine, although there is in point of fact no actual partnership between the employed and the employer as regards the success of the latter, it is to all intents and purposes a partnership; because the employer's stock in trade is a useless commodity on his hands without the aid and assistance of labor.

Capital may fancy that it is supreme, but the dream is idle; it is as much dependent on labor as the child upon the support of the parent. Labor *is* the parent of capital, and without its influences the child would become weak, enervated, and would die. Therefore, when I hear the expression, upon the part of the owner of the colliery, in reply to the demand of the miner that his wages must be raised or he will suspend, that "he does not propose to make a copartnership of his business," he may speak a sentiment that is literally true in the abstract, but still the miner may hold him to a fair division of profits, or he may prevent the accumulation of profits. Though this is not a partnership in name, it is in point of fact.

The merchant may say he will not make a partnership with his customers. True, they have no interest in the fee of the land on which the store stands, nor any interest in the goods in the store; but, pray, of what benefit are store and goods to the owner without the customers? Here come in the elements of the great business partnership, which always exist between seller and buyer, and employer and employé. The one is dependent upon the other, and each requires the aid of the other. The success of each is relative, and not independent. The world is a partnership; the State is a partnership; and every well-regulated community is a partnership. All are sharers in the general prosperity.

A fair price for coal can be more effectually established by the miner than by the mine owner. And it is just as much the interest of one as the other to have a living price for the article. The men who cut and raise the coal are as much interested in a fair and uniform price as the owner. The whole question may be assimilated in its general effects to a prohibitory tariff law. If the price be too large, it reduces the consumption, if too low it cannot be supplied. And if the coal operators would direct their artillery against the transporting companies instead of the miners they would be much more likely to hit the mark.

Every business man knows well that when the ope-

rator gets a good price for his coal, he can better afford to pay the laborer fair wages. The effect of the establishment of a basis will do more to regulate the price of coal in market than any one cause. For the consumer is aware of the basis, and knows that it is not the result of combination between the operator, broker, or retailer. He is aware that it is the price which results from the wages of the men in the mines, and there is no speculation in it.

What the basis should be, so far as it relates to labor, I am unable to say. It is a subject upon which I profess no superior knowledge. I am not interested in the matter. I am interested in what I feel is the well-being of a very large and meritorious class of my fellow-citizens; knowing that their welfare and mine, as well as that of the whole community, are intimately blended together. I am dealing in generalities, and speaking of the propriety and even necessity of a proper basis.

What a proper basis is, those who know more of its details are better able to judge than I. The miner of intelligence, and there are hundreds of them in the anthracite coal district, knows better as to the proper standard of this basis than I possibly can. I assume, therefore, that the standard they have fixed is a proper one. They know, if extravagant in their estimate of

this, that the bad effect of it will only recoil on their own heads.

We will therefore assume that the present basis is a just and proper one, alike for consumer, operator, and laborer, and examine the mere question of its expediency, and I assert under this view that it is for the benefit particularly of the three classes of persons named, viz., laborer, operator, and customer.

How to the laborer? It gives him a fair price for raising the coal, considering the dangers and exposures which he must necessarily incur, and which are incident to his occupation. It gives him the benefit of the advance of price in market, if any, in a small ratio with the operator. But here is the rub! The pinch of the case, in lawyer's phrase, lies here. Capital claims as a branch of its monopoly any advance in the market price. True, the coal in market is the sole property of the owner or lessee of the mine. No sane man will deny this, but the miner and the transportation company have a very important hand in placing it in market. The operator yields to the transporting company, however oppressive the tariff of tolls may be, but yields very reluctantly to the party mining and preparing the coal for market. Why does he yield to the railroad charges? Because he cannot avoid it. He feels that his enemy *under* ground is more easily vanquished than his enemy *above* ground! Therefore, without a

loud murmur he submits to his twin brother capital, and seeks to place the burden of his complaint upon the stout shoulders of the laboring man, because he is less to be feared than incorporated capital.

Until labor became united by unions and co-operative measures, this could not be easily accomplished ; but a combination of thirty thousand men is an irresistible obstacle. The power of the laboring man, which was contemptible when he stood alone, has become the Goliath of Gath since he signed the bond of the union league. He no longer crouches at the feet of capital ; by union he becomes the peer of capital ; he is now in the position of dictating as well as receiving terms. His power, that remained latent for years, begins now to show itself to the world. He is creeping out of the hovel and is building himself a home of his own, and he has besides, at the tailor's, cloth for a holiday suit ; his wife and children have a smile upon their faces in the place of deep furrows of grief.

And who is injured by this change ? No one. Who is benefited ? Every one. Why then shall not the principles of the basis stand ? The changes and fluctuations of prices in market will become diminished, for the reason that while the whole public would conspire to reduce the price of coal if the impression prevailed that capital was alone interested in an advance of

price, they will cheerfully submit to it if they believe the advance will benefit the laboring man.

In the maintenance of a proper basis the miner may calculate on uniformity of the price of his wages; so may the operator on a uniform price for his coal. There may come changes produced by unforeseen or unexpected causes; but they will not materially affect the interests of either. There are unavoidable accidents and causes which always attend business affairs.

But if the miner has fixed a definite price for coal in market which shall constitute the basis as to the price of his labor, by unions and co-operative measures he can calculate on stability and certainty, because if over-production makes the market weak there is a remedy at hand. Thirty thousand men are engaged in and about the mines; if over-production is likely to reduce the price of coal, they can withdraw a portion of their labor, and in this way produce equilibrium. It is a balance of power under their immediate control. This withdrawal will, of course, be temporary, and a much better and more efficacious remedy than strikes, and in this way the operator is quite as much benefited as the miner. It furnishes a rule which works both ways. The tendency of it will work a change where really change is most needed, and that is in a reduction of tolls. Really, railroad monopoly is as much in the way of operator as miner.

The operator does not see it, or if he does, seems to be afraid to complain, because he comes in contact with a stronger opponent in his opinion than the men in his employ. Such was once the case—such, however, is not now. A new relation has grown up between him and his men. Incorporated railroad capital has a new element to contend with, and one of infinitely more power than the coal operators. The issue hence will be, if the miners are but true to themselves, between operator and miner on one side, and railroad capital on the other.

The sooner, therefore, that these new relations between operator and miner are understood, the better will it be for both of them. Pursuing the inquiry as to the market price of coal connected with railroad transportation, let us see how the case stands. The freight of a ton of coal by rail from Wilkes Barré to New York is about \$4.00. A large operator informs me that the actual cost at this time (January 20, 1870) is \$4.10. It is therefore impossible for the operator to sustain himself and pay his men fair wages, if he is forced to sell at New York at \$5.00 a ton. For it is worth \$2.00 a ton to mine, prepare, and put it in the car, at the mines. A sale, therefore, at \$5.00 leaves but ninety cents a ton for labor. If the operator pay mine leave in addition, there must be a loss to him or his men. Now while we are willing to stand firmly by



the rights of labor, we must also stand by the rights of the employer.

To balance matters evenly and do exact justice all around, transportation must bend to the "BASIS!" Is it reasonable that the railroad company should impose the same tariff of tolls when the price of coal is \$5.00 as when it is \$10.00? Strange as it may seem, yet such is the fact. The operators, therefore, must follow out the example of the miners. They must resort to unions and combinations. They must say to the railroad companies, graduate the price of your transportation upon the principles of the basis. This has been done by the operator and the miner, and must needs be done by the railroad. It must come; it is a lesson in the chapter of destiny!

The consumer has also a voice in this thing, for he, too, should be shielded from monopoly. The laboring man of New York who buys coal for his household is to be placed upon the same footing as the man at Avondale. Distance is nothing, occupation is nothing. God's blessings are indiscriminately bestowed; shall man's be partial?

The rights of the laboring man in the coal region have recently undergone a material change for the better. It is to be hoped that the same influences may be extended throughout the land. Laboring men everywhere, and of all the industrial pursuits, should

become thoroughly aroused to a sentiment, now comparatively local, but which is the leaven that shall reach the whole length and breadth of the American Union. The miners of the coal field have commenced reform in earnest. The public attention has become centred upon their action. Public opinion is with them in their effort, and it is so because they are in the right.

The late terrible calamity at Avondale, where an hundred lives were sacrificed—and three hundred widows and orphans left desolate and alone, has sent a thrill throughout the country. It caused a convulsive shudder. A dark, portentous cloud reached every home and hamlet in its vicinity. The public mind has become excited. Men who before were indifferent, begin now to think, and realize the peril which attends the employment of the laborers of the mines. These disasters come home close to their doors; and if they will close their eyes, their ears cannot escape the wail of those made desolate. So prominent a branch of the industry of the country cannot be overlooked. Too many people have a direct interest in the mines and the men who are in deadly peril in making them productive.

Such a slaughter as Avondale gives a meaning to basis that it did not before possess. It is a term that is now associated with death in the mine as well as

with bread and raiment. It has brought prominently before the public a class of men upon whose industry depends, in a great measure, the development as well as success of a business involving hundreds of millions of dollars annually, whose labor and toil in the coal-fields build up towns and cities, school-houses and churches.

Railroad capital must not add to its dividends and increase its surplus funds at the cost of other pursuits. It has no special privilege, *par excellence*, that puts it above and beyond all other branches of trade and industry.

Basis is a leveller. It has come in direct contact with mining capital, and it has carried its point! Unions have hit the first brick in the row! Basis will hit the next! Isolated capital is of no account, when brought in contact with united, fearless working men, and acting together they may double their power; but capital, multiplied twice over, cannot defeat the united action of labor and those who sympathize with it.

The idea of charging the same freight on a ton of coal when it sells for \$5.00 as when it sells for \$10.00, is preposterous—absurd. Capital has paid out millions to reach the coal fields with its roads, and on coal transportation it depends for its profits. Coal operators must know that by combination they can, in a great measure, regulate the tariff of tolls. There are

corporations which have the privilege of owning, leasing, buying, selling, and transportation, which might not be thus reached — special privileges, without the pale of the law ; little empires floating about with all the pretensions of real ones.

They are, however, comparatively few in number, and the public at large would be greatly benefited if that number were diminished. The legislative policy of the State has been seriously at fault in the dispensation of these immense privileges. It has been but too profligate of its prerogative in this one particular. The remedy has become somewhat deficient, as the mischief has been done. These incorporated companies, particularly within the limits of the coal fields, have become vast engines of power. Many of them having the double capacity of becoming owners and dealers, as well as transporters, have already purchased and are the owners, in fee, of probably one-half the anthracite coal lands of the State, possibly more. As operators and transporters, they own depots, and some of them retail coal in market. By their monthly sales they fix the price of coal : forcing a weak demand, they sell at such prices as an operator not interested in a carrying road cannot. They thus become a monopoly, which is alike a terror to operator and miner. An operator must be strong indeed in funds to begin to compete with them. By

their excessive freights they not only coin money, but have the power to prevent individual enterprises from sustaining themselves. Hundreds of individual operators are thus literally driven out of the trade, or compelled to sell out to them.

Now this is all wrong. In the first place such controlling influences as they possess should never have been granted. To check it has become a serious inquiry, both to others engaged in the production of coal, as well as to consumers. For all may calculate, and that, too, with certainty, that whenever these vast railroad companies shall become, as they will, the sole and exclusive owners of all the coal lands, they will, by combination, fix the price of coal in market as well as the price of production. It may be safely anticipated that the price for the latter will be very low and that of the former very high. Their immense capital will enable them to suspend until both customer and producer shall come to terms.

All this is a serious subject for consideration. And the sooner the operator and the miner begin to build breastworks for their defence, the better for them, and the consumer may as well lend a helping hand. Their interests are the same, and all three of these classes sooner or later will be forced to act in concert.

If the railroad companies shall continue to buy up

coal lands at the same ratio for the succeeding twenty years as for the last twenty, they will own every acre of anthracite land in the State. This done, the present men in the trade will be completely driven out. Therefore, there is an absolute necessity on their part of a unity with the miners. We are now all passing swiftly under their control, if we are not so already. The grant of every incorporate body has been a victory over the masses — a concentration of power in the few at the cost of the sacrifice of personal rights.

Possessing these vast privileges, they dictate legislation. They boldly make their demands and generally carry their point. They use strong arguments. They cannot, therefore, if they resort to political management, take exception to others if they do the same thing. Overbearing in their gigantic strength, they contemplate labor and laboring men as among the insignificant obstacles in their way. But let the political strength of the two be fairly measured, and it will not require the voice of a seer to prophesy the result.

Vested rights have been a "bugbear" quite too long for the general good. Vested rights should be treated sacredly, we admit, unless vested rights become domineering and oppressive. Those who claim that vested rights are too sacred to be touched, should bear in mind that the power that can create

can destroy. We speak of political strength, not of revolution or anarchy.

This government is based on the majority principle — a larger "basis" this than that talked of by the laboring men of the mines and machine shops. Men and capital and vested rights must all yield to the power of the majority. Majority is the essence of this government, its life-giving principle, and upon which depends the weal or woe of all classes. None so high or elevated that the *vox populi* may not reach and control. Far, however, is it from our purpose to create distrust or excite angry or vindictive passions; but it is our purpose to make the attempt at least to turn the thoughts of capital, if capital can think, upon the state of facts as they are, or as they may be, and not as capital would have them.

Physical force is a poor argument; it is not the right-hand supporter of progress — political force is. Let those who are the representatives of incorporated power bear in mind that the day is fast approaching when any further privileges will be a matter of more difficult acquisition than in days gone by.

The question of equality is being, of late, examined with more scrutiny — and the masses are daily becoming more and more jealous of *their* "vested rights." It is a pity that this vigilance was not of an older

birth! If it had been, there would be to-day more of personal liberty and less of incorporated power.

Railroads have had a very important part in the progress of the age; they are a necessity. They cannot be dispensed with; but what do we understand by the term railroad? A public highway by which the world travels, and through which the world sends its commodities to market.

A common highway that supplies the old stage thoroughfare as a means of transit from town to town, and city to city. That is a railroad, and its iron tracks now almost encircle the globe. As a means of transportation it is a bold and successful competitor of the sea, and its use has become one of those indispensable measures which all acknowledge.

But the capitalists who have grown immensely rich out of the tolls incident to the traffic upon their roads, in many instances are grasping at other branches of business that do not properly belong to them. Not content to be carriers of freight only, they seek to become the owners of it—to buy, sell, and produce those articles of trade and commerce which come within the province of others to do. They become owners of mines, and drive individual enterprise out of them; they own mills and manufactories, supply them with materials, and control and manage them; they own depots and wharves and yards, and sell



their wares and commodities at wholesale and retail. They are thus making a grand monopoly, not of transportation merely, but of the great staples of the country. They have exceeded their limits. They claim to have the power to do all this. They probably have. How did they obtain it? They alone can tell!

Outsiders wonder by what means the legislative sanction has thus been obtained; outsiders, however, will never be the wiser. We now and then hear of committees of inquiry, but we never hear of results. So it goes on from year to year. Corporate influences achieving victory upon victory; individual influence nowhere!

But is there no remedy? Do not the people of the State still hold the political power of the State. We know that there is a power — an organic power, the substratum of the body politic, that can undo those things which have been done.

Railroad corporations, though vast in their acquisitions of special privileges, and rich immensely in treasure, are not paramount to the Constitution, the laws, and the will of the people. Those who own and control them must not rest under a delusion.

The popular voice will never be raised against those roads which are confined to their proper business; it may complain of exorbitant tolls, but it will submit

to them. But when the roads become freeholders, merchants, miners, manufacturers, and farmers, they must, of course, come in contact with the popular will. The cry of vested rights, under the cover of such overwhelming monopoly, cannot save them. These highways are to-day the owners of half the anthracite coal lands of the State. Highways mine, transport, and sell half the coal annually disposed of in the market. Highways are truly a power. They name the price of coal; they fix the price of wages. Highways legislate. Highways dictate terms at Washington and Harrisburg; they fill the public offices with such men as they may designate—they are the lords of the manor.

Now it is not my purpose to enter into a personal dispute with highways, for I would be of no earthly account, but were I surrounded with a million or so of laboring men, I could teach highways to carry their packages and let politics and industrious people's private business alone! And they would do so. No railroad company should own an acre of land, except for the purposes of depots, station-houses, and such necessary matters incident to their occupation of the public's common carriers. They should never be permitted to deal in articles of traffic, or engage in mining, manufacturing, or any of the branches of industry. As the pack-horses of a great community, they should

be intrusted with carrying the people and the people's wares and merchandise, but nothing more. For this they should be paid, and, if you please, well paid. A monopoly of this much is an immense public gift. Quite enough. They have, however, become rich out of their gains and profits, and they seek not only to control the other prominent industrial pursuits, but run the governmental political machine.

The Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys are in the keeping of these monster highways; they own coal; they mine coal; they buy and sell coal; they put just such price upon coal in market as they please, and pay for labor what *they* deem wise and proper! These highways do not condescend to advise or consult with operator or miner; they are above and out of their reach. These may look imploringly up to them, but they may not approach the commanding presence. The operator must take the basis they fix as his price; the miner must do the same or fare worse. And where is the consumer in the meantime? A mere tail to this big highway kite; to follow where it leads, move when it moves, and stop when it stops.

Now this state of affairs will only continue to grow worse and worse if not checked. So far as the coal trade is concerned, operator, miner, and consumer are alike affected by the action of these highways on the market. Their continual change and fluctuation of

the market unhinges the stability of the trade. They make the trouble. During the summer they force a weak and nervous market with monthly sales — lower the price as a pretext for paying the miner half wages, but in the meantime fill their docks and yards, to be ready to put it off whenever a pinch comes in the demand; but if the miner talks of an advance upon such demand, they can well afford to suspend; they have their supply.

It may be said, Why does not the consumer watch his opportunity and buy low? The man of means may, but the million "live from hand to mouth." Of a thousand who must have coal, probably fifty may be in the condition to buy ahead, taking advantage of the market; but the remaining nine hundred and fifty must take their chances. They have not the money to provide for future wants; to meet the present is all, and more than they are generally able to do. All these difficulties to operator, consumer, and miner would never occur if highways did not rule and govern the situation.

They may fix the price of coal any week in the year, just as they please. If it be their interest to have a large quantity mined, at starving rates, they have but to put down the price by a forced sale; down go wages. If, on the other hand, they have enough at market, they have but to suspend mining till they

can sell out at a large price, and during the time of such advance the man at the mines may not proceed till the price again falls.

So the laboring men of the mines have been trifled with from year to year. Can we wonder that their patience is exhausted? They have finally come to the only reasonable conclusion available, and that is the basis. This will, in a measure, give them a temporary relief; but they must not stop at basis. Equality of power is the grand desideratum. The highways of Pennsylvania have more power than the people. These vast corporate bodies must come to terms with the people, before the people can prosper. The man who gives away his coat must expect to cringe under the inclemencies of the season. So he who gives away his dinner must expect to go hungry.

The highway is the captain of capital. He is a severe tactician. Will the laboring masses promote him, or remove the cotton swabs from his shoulders? Vested rights! Pray what are vested rights but so many sacrifices made by the people? Let highways be pack-horses, but let the people hold the reins. In this only are prosperity and personal freedom.

Looking, then, at the real cause of trouble, so far as the coal business is concerned, the highways, through legislative sanction, have seized the trade. They have the lever in their own hands. How they get this

power we will not stop to inquire, nor petition for a committee of inquiry, with power to send for persons and papers; they have it. Laboring men of the mines, as well as operators, must bring these highways to the BASIS! Down to that huge grindstone must they come, and in the adjustment of a proper basis the operator is quite as much interested as the miner.

I define the word operator as a person who is carrying on mining, disconnected with the ownership of transportation and railroad privileges. The highway to market has no right to control the market! When we come to reflect that a mere carrying road is clothed with the vast powers that some of them are, it strikes us with astonishment in a double sense: in the first place, that the men who own them should have had the rashness and temerity to ask for these great and exclusive privileges; and, secondly, that a legislative body should ever have entertained the idea, for a moment, of granting them! We are informed that such things are unknown in Europe; that a road there *is* a road, and nothing else. A road *here* is everything its managers may choose to make it. We do not deny the propriety of companies or individuals having branch or connecting roads, for the accommodation of their own trade. We speak of the great thoroughfares to the market. Nor shall we ever raise our voice against any road that is especially confined to the

accommodation of the travelling public or the transportation of merchandise, and doing those things alone which properly belong to it. Of such there are many, and they are entitled to a favorable consideration by the public.

But these real estate, commercial, mining, political, and law-making highways do not commend themselves, particularly, to the community generally, and least of all to the laboring men of the nation. They may be said to furnish employment, but this is a poor equivalent compared with the great wrongs inflicted in the usurpation of public and private immunities. Co-operative measures cannot get hold of consolidated and incorporated power. Co-operation, to become a success, must have an open field and ground unoccupied. Highways, when they become fairly entrenched, are very formidable. Their strong boxes make better barricades than the cobble-stones of Parisian streets. The laboring men of the country must see to it that there are no more confirming acts, no more special grants, no more exclusive privileges. Too many they already have. They are the vampires which gnaw to death the civil and political rights of the working men of this nation. They destroy equality, and are the most fearful enemies of private and individual rights.

## CHAPTER X.

## ARBITRATION.

THE consequences resulting from the suspension of labor by large bodies of men are exceedingly disastrous. These sudden suspensions are called "strikes." They not only injure the men themselves and their families, but all branches of business in their vicinity, and even other branches of trade elsewhere which are directly or indirectly connected with the material produced by the strikers. Every day's labor contributes to the aggregate wealth of the whole community. When, therefore, fifty thousand men are out of employment for a succession of months, assuming the great majority thus idle to be persons of small means, and dependent entirely on the labor of their hands for their support, it will be seen that there must not only be an immense loss to the general stock in trade, but also an immense amount of individual want and suffering. Nor is this all.

It is computed that there are fifty thousand men engaged in the anthracite coal mines of Pennsylvania. In the strike of this number it will be fair to estimate



that there are not less than twenty-five thousand working men engaged in different occupations immediately connected with the trade, so that when the miners strike this class is thrown out of employment also.

It therefore frequently occurs that seventy-five thousand men are at the same time out of employment; and suspensions have continued four months at a time in the coal region. Now, estimating an average of two dollars as the daily wages of each man, and we have a hundred and fifty thousand dollars as a total and absolute loss per day. Allowing twenty-six working days to the month, and that the strike continues four months, and the wages lost will amount to fifteen million six hundred thousand dollars.

In this way we are enabled to form some proper idea of a strike in the coal mines. We may ascertain pretty nearly the cost in dollars and cents; but we have no standard by which we can measure the suffering and misery that is necessarily incident.

It then becomes a duty upon the part of all good citizens to volunteer their good offices to prevent, if possible, the occurrence of these public and private calamities.

Strikes arise from disagreement as to the price of wages between the employer and the employed. They seldom, if ever, spring from ill feeling upon either side, or a want of fidelity and punctuality in the fulfilment of contracts; but generally from an

honest difference of opinion as to wages. Each party entertain their own peculiar views, as they undoubtedly have the privilege to do. When, therefore, the employer insists that he is in the right, and resorts to retaliatory measures, he should remember that his men are also entitled to a fair and proper consideration of their opinions in the momentous question of their wages.

We should all bear in mind that "to err is human," and the man of capital is no more the exception to the rule than the man whose labor accumulated it for him. Forbearance and concession under such circumstances are cardinal virtues; and exalted is his character who yields to their manly influences.

Threats and coercion, to the laboring man who is under the impression — and perhaps very justly — that he is not paid as well as he should be, are not the means of reconciliation. Let it be borne in mind that he may have a family of helpless children, dependent solely upon the work of his hands for their support; that whenever these strikes of long continuance occur, these children may be the subjects of want; and their upturned faces, with the prayer for daily bread imprinted upon every feature, "though their lips move not," are appalling evidences of the situation he is placed in. Of what account is a victory upon the part of capital over such a man? and especially where the

conflict, as is not unfrequently the case, is more a question of endurance than of principle ?

The exercise of mercy for his infirmities, if in the wrong, would be a wiser conclusion—that quality of mercy which the greatest of poets has said,

“Becomes the throned monarch better than his crown.”

Who can better afford to be liberal and indulgent than he who has reaped the harvest prepared for him by the toil of laboring men ?

Some of the ablest men of Great Britain have exerted themselves in devising measures, if not to entirely prevent the occurrence of strikes, at least to palliate their bad effects. Experience has proved, however, that while their efforts have met with partial success, they have by no means eradicated the root of the evil.

Arbitration seems to have been the most efficient agent they have discovered. Under this plan of terminating the great disputed question of the proper price of labor, the employer selects a certain number of persons, the employés a like number, and on their failure to settle points at issue, an umpire is called in, whose decision is final. This is arbitration. Can it be made available in this country ?

Ordinarily this would seem to be a fair and proper way of determining those difficulties which usually

culminate in strikes. But to understand this better, we will examine the true condition of things on both sides of the water. With the same existing facts, if arbitration answers the purpose in England, it certainly should in America. But such is not the case; and of course English precedent will not answer here. And why?

Under British law, the railroad is a common carrier only, and the rates of toll and transportation are so circumscribed by enactment, that it is always within the control of Parliament; and it is not within the power of railroad managers, when they find an article of trade increasing in market value, to raise their tariff of tolls upon that article to an extent sufficient for them to lay hold of the advance to the exclusion of the producer or manufacturer. The American railroad can. In England the crown is paramount to the railroad. In America the railroad is king, lords, and commons.

The English railroad has nothing to do with the mills, or the mines, or any branches of manufacturing or commercial affairs. The railroad is not, therefore, a party to arbitration. It is between the owners of the mines, the mills, and the men in their employ. We thus find parties competent to arbitrate, and the award cannot be weakened or destroyed by railroad action in the increase of tolls. A Pennsylvania

railroad is manufacturer, merchant, miner, landholder, and transporter, and generally possesses the authority to put on such rates for toll and freight as to exclude at its pleasure any article of trade from entering the market.

It is, therefore, an utter impossibility for the coal operator, disconnected from the railroad, to determine an issue with his men by the process of arbitration, for the reason that there is a third power, which may nullify it at a blow. I speak now of the result of arbitration founded upon market value, or basis, and any other standard of arbitration seems absurd.

So that to make arbitration available; it must be a "Midshipnian Easy" affair — a triangular issue. And when we find the operator and the miner in accord with their great competitor and rival, the railroad, on the question of arbitration, with basis as the foundation, then we may be prepared for the millennium.

The railroad managers will never sanction arbitration upon the *basis* principle; for in that case the miner would get some share of the advance in market, and this would be gall and wormwood. There can be no doubt but that the railroad interest would become a party to arbitration if the *basis* were excluded, and to this the miners will never assent. They would be faithless to their own interests should they consent to do so. It is eminently proper that the miner should

participate in the profits of the colliery. I do not wish to be understood by this that he should share as a partner in the profits of the concern, and sustain none of its losses; but for the reason that his wages are not large, on a market basis of five dollars, he should be entitled to a percentage on the advance over that price. And this is the acknowledged opinion of every respectable operator. It is not disputed.

To test the practicability of arbitration, we will suppose that the coal operators and the men of the mines shall establish their tribunal of reference, and with or without the intervention of an umpire, that board shall award, that when coal sells for five dollars at tide water, the miner shall be allowed for his wages sixty cents a ton; and for any advance over five dollars, twelve and a half per cent. This would probably meet the case between the parties, although this minimum of five dollars a ton would not afford the miner very liberal wages.

But an award so made depends upon another very important contingency — and that is the cost of transportation. Assuming five dollars as the basis of wages, it must be remembered that this is a minimum; and if coal falls below that, it will be succeeded by such prices for wages as are incompatible with the miner's necessities. Such an award would be adopted upon the payment of three dollars as the cost of trans-

portation ; thus leaving for the operator a dollar and forty cents, and the miner sixty cents ; both parties anticipating an advance in the market value as prospective profit. For at five dollars operator and miner receive barely a living compensation.

The whole matter, therefore, hinges upon the action of the transporter. If he advances the rate of tolls in the same ratio as the advance of the price of coal over the minimum, then the prospective profit of operator and miner is gone. And this is usually the practice of the railroad interest. It is thus manifest that without the concurrence of the railroad, arbitration literally amounts to nothing ; like a religion without a faith — a dagger without a hilt.

If, therefore, arbitration has been made available in Great Britain, it has been because the railroad company did not possess, as it does here, the veto power. I have already said that the transporting interest would probably consent to arbitration excluding basis. But human ingenuity is powerless to establish a proper and uniform standard of wages for mine labor without regard to the market value of the article produced, as the result of such labor. And any effort at arbitration without the concurrence of the railroad is truthfully represented in the fable, when the rats assembled in council, and solemnly resolved to put a bell on the cat, that they might be warned of her approach ; but the

duty imposed on the bell committee was of the most trying and disheartening character.

Operator and miner may adjust all their troubles very cleverly and very satisfactorily by arbitration, but when they come to put the bell on the cat, then comes the pinch of the case. They will then understand what weak and feeble mortals they are. If arbitration is to be made a success, it can only be done by the legislative power over the carrying corporations, and since they have got all the authority it can confer, the legislature is about as insignificant as the bell committee.

Labor, like any marketable commodity, must be estimated by the value it is to the person seeking it. The mechanic who is skilled in the art and mystery of his trade may impose higher rates than one who is not. He must calculate, too, on competition. As a general rule he must be his own arbitrator as to the price of his work; and so with the lawyer, the preacher, and doctor. It would occur to our mind as supremely ridiculous if there should be a board of arbitration established in every town and hamlet, whose duty should be to establish the uniform price for a sermon, a plea, or the setting of a broken limb!

But under this system of arbitration I do not understand the remedy if either party does not choose to abide by the decision. I learned, a great many years



ago, may be forty, and probably more, in Blackstone, that the remedy was the most important part of the law. Its force, then, consists in acquiescence. This will do very well where both parties are satisfied, but not so well if one of them is not. There is certainly no appeal to a higher court, and no method to enforce a decree.

Thus, while arbitration of the difficulties constantly arising between employer and employé impresses the mind with much force, because it is a very common mode of arranging private disputes; yet when we carefully and critically consider its application to vast multitudes, and as a means of reconciling the great issue between labor and capital, in the absence of a coercive power to compel submission, it is to be feared that it is not the real and genuine panacea.

My own judgment confirms me in the conclusion, that the laborer is the proper person to put a price upon his services. And whether he stands isolated or bands with his associates, is a matter with which the employer or the community outside of him or them has nothing to do.

A word or two more as to the English system of arbitration. Mr. Thomas Hughes, a Member of Parliament, and one of the strongest advocates of arbitration, finds much difficulty in his position of umpire in fixing the price of wages of the laborers in the iron mills,

“for the want of a certain and self-adjusting scale as to the market value of iron;” and he concludes some remarks on the subject by saying, “that unless some such system is adopted for relieving the board of this part of its work, the great experiment which is now working out may prove a failure, which would be a serious misfortune to the country.”

If the English system of arbitration is impracticable “for the want of a certain and self-adjusting scale” in the iron business, it can hardly be supposed that the wages of miners can be properly adjusted, in the absence of such a scale, in the market value of coal. This is what we call basis.

I think I have pretty conclusively shown that basis can never be agreed to by the transportation companies as the corner-stone of arbitration. If this conclusion be correct, then there is little to be hoped from it.

If there be, however, any good Samaritan who has the faith that he can, in this way, bind up the wounds which have been received in the collision between labor and capital, let him try the experiment. There certainly can be no harm done. But I fear that he will find too many adverse interests to be reconciled; too many parties to be consulted; and too little coercive power in the remedy to be applied to those who may be refractory; and, above all, that the ear of the

railroad will be very deaf to entreaty, where the eye of the railroad does not see clearly the profits dropping into the railroad till.

It is among the possibilities that fifty thousand miners on one side, and a dozen or more railroad companies on another side, and a hundred or more operators on the third side, may establish a self-adjusting scale in coal values, by which the price of labor may be regulated, and all things move smoothly ; and it is a possibility only.

The trouble in strikes is deeper seated. Capital insists upon more than its legitimate share of profits, and will maintain this position. Labor through combination is strong, and in standing firmly together is the only guarantee of success for laboring men. Divided they are insignificant, but moving in accord their power is vast. And therein is their shield. The idea of arbitration without "basis" is a tub thrown to the whale. It may sound well to the ear, and it may bring hope to the laboring man ; but it is a disappointed hope, and makes not one inch in progress in closing up that great gulf which separates labor from capital.

The working man's only course is to insist in what he sincerely and religiously believes to be right ; and by union and co-operation with his fellows, to make his demands appear respectable by their moral power as well as the universal strength with which they are

backed. He cannot calculate on concession from capital. He must rely on his own strong hands, and the justice of his cause. Arbitration will never furnish a remedy for his wrongs; it is a device merely, a fleeting shadow, without form or substance.

I am aware that there is just ground for a difference of opinion on the subject. Argument, however, is the test of criticism, and if there be reasons in favor of sustaining the theory which have not occurred to my mind, I shall be happy to retrace my steps. The fear is, that those who honestly advocate the measure in their enthusiasm mistake the true conclusion, by comparing the English with the American facts.

Wherever causes exist requiring litigation, one or the other of the parties must be in the wrong. If, in the event of strikes, the men are in the right, (and it is really difficult to conceive how a laborer would put himself in the wrong by a demand of higher wages,) then they have nothing to submit to arbitration, and no concessions or compromises to make. But it sometimes happens, where the question is one of endurance, that the weaker party must take the terms of the stronger; and here arbitration may help to relieve a condition of suffering and want, though in it there are no elements of justice.

A strike presents an issue between labor and capital, and arbitration can never amicably adjust the differ-

ences. The contest seems to have had no beginning within the memory of man, and there is no reasonable prospect that it will ever have an end.

This is a fact which history has fully proved, and if there be a corrective feature, it is to be hoped that the equality principle, found only in free governments, will furnish it.

The NEW YORK HERALD, in speaking of a recent failure of arbitration where the principle was tested to arrange the difficulties between the coal operators and miners, very appropriately remarks:

"This is the old story of Trades Unions over again. It is nothing new either in law or morality, and is not at all likely to bring this coal controversy to a satisfactory end. Probably the cessation of demand for coal during the long summer season before us will do more to bring both of the contesting parties to a settlement than anything else. If this effect is not produced, then surely there is power enough in the Pennsylvania Legislature to compel the railroads to reduce their tariff, so that coal can be transported over their roads upon fair terms. This, after all, is the secret of this whole coal difficulty, which is harassing the poor consumer and embarrassing the business of the manufacturer. The conspiracy lies with the railroad companies and the mine owners, although the responsibility is adroitly

sought to be placed upon the shoulders of the working miners."

This argument is in confirmation of our theory, and exhibits the fallacy of attempting to patch up by means of arbitration an issue involving violated personal rights produced by incorporated power.

## CHAPTER XL

## LEGISLATIVE FAVORITISM TO CAPITAL.

My attention has been recently called to an act of the legislature of this State (now in the hands of the Governor for his approval), passed by both houses, in their peculiar way of doing business, *i.e.*, paying little if any attention to its merits, and pretending surprise on the discovery of a fraud, when the mischief is past remedy.

This is a bill to give to the railroads of Pennsylvania power and authority "to make any contract with any other railroad company or companies, individuals or corporations."

Here is an act of the legislature of Pennsylvania embodied in only nineteen lines, inclusive of the enacting clause, which confers upon common highways, whose privileges should be confined to the limits of common carriers, authority to make any contract with any person ; — in plain language, to buy and sell, mine and ship, manufacture and vend, to just such an extent as the people managing them may choose and determine. What country besides this ever granted

like power to associated capital? There is no record of it in the past, and in no country but this will there be a repetition of it.

Such grants as these are a surrender of personal and civil liberty to associated capital. Private enterprise cannot but yield to the power of associated wealth. Like the horse-leech they cry, Give, give! There are no limits to their unjust and inordinate demands. How can a legislative body permit such things? Do they lack capacity that they cannot see, or seeing are they indifferent to the public good, and is the only object worthy of their thoughts the squandering of the precious rights of the people upon heartless, soulless corporations?

It is not enough for these railroads to monopolize all the freight upon goods and wares destined for the markets, but must they also become the owners? Cannot the huckster of eggs and cabbages be permitted to carry on his small trade; must he, too, yield to monopoly?

Under this rare specimen of legislation I defy an individual coal operator to live on his business. He is bound sooner or later to vacate. He must make room for the great modern engine known as a highway. Why do the men of the land, who hold its political power, submit to these gross and overbearing acts? They are simply oppression, and have no other appro-



priate name. I am told that some of the "*fathers*," who were questioned about letting this snake slip through, pretended they did not notice it. Ha, ha! Suppose it had been an act depriving them of life, liberty, or property, would they have interposed such a plea?

It is their duty to know what is going on. Railroads now in Pennsylvania have all the privileges of trade and manufacture in addition to transportation. Outsiders must now keep their distance; hands off! I care not what incorporated privilege a railroad may ask of the legislature of Pennsylvania, the request will be granted. Such has been the experience of the last ten years, and will be during the coming hundred.

There is one remedy, and but one. Labor must assert its rights, and the assertion must be made in a way that means something. Do the men who own the railroad capital of the country really believe that they own the country? That they have reason to suppose so I can readily perceive, because what they demand they get without stint or limit. There is no legislative denial of their enormous demands. They swallow up labor and trade and commerce. They are limited by no exorbitance in their demands. They have no regard for the public welfare. It is money, money; power, power. These are the only words in their vocabulary, and will be till the hard-handed yeomanry of the land shall say stop!

When this shall be, the future must decide. It is to be hoped that that time is not far distant.

I have been a close observer of the mode of legislation in this State for the last thirty years, and I take it upon myself to assert that among the evils of the last ten years, caused by a bad system of law-making, this last act, entitled "an act to authorize railroad companies to lease and become lessees, and to make contracts with other railroad companies and parties," is fraught with more of the elements of mischief than all other bad legislation put together, because they now have the absolute control of the whole trade, commerce, and manufactures of the State of Pennsylvania. There is no exaggeration in this statement; it is literally true.

Let us make a grand effort to get back to the simple days of our fathers, and let us at least have one-half or one-quarter of the personal and civil liberty of the country. Ten years more of railroad demands and this State may as well yield. Its sovereignty by that time will be contemptible.

The obligation of the legislative oath is to support the Constitution and discharge the duties of a representative with fidelity. How, alas! is the cause of fidelity maintained if every vestige of personal liberty and public rights be given up to incorporated power?

Does not the trade of the great valleys of the Susquehanna and the Schuylkill legitimately belong to

the people who reside within their borders, as well as to those who trade with them? Is it not enough that the chartered railroads which thread these valleys as common carriers of their vast products and manufactures have a monopoly? Would not this alone fill their coffers with untold thousands? Ought they to usurp every branch of trade, every personal occupation, every industrial pursuit? Is it reasonable to suppose that any legislative body, acting under a proper sense of their duty, could confer such immense privileges to the disadvantage and ruin of their constituents? Shall this treatment of the men whom they represent be passed over in silence? Dare no one raise his voice against such unjust, such oppressive conduct?

I maintain that the trade, and commerce, and exchange of these great valleys belong of right to the people, and that no incorporated power should be permitted for a moment to usurp them. Usurpation is the name, and the only name, that is applicable to such a state of facts.

"To make any contract with any other company, corporations, or individuals," is the language used in this most extraordinary and unprecedented act. Thus they may buy every ton of coal, iron ore, lime and other minerals, and sell the same either wholesale or retail; every bushel of corn or other agricultural product; make contracts for the building of furnaces and mills,

for mining and manufacturing ores; they may establish stores and buy and sell goods, purchase lands for timber and agricultural purposes; they may, in short, under this law of nineteen lines, do any and all acts that individuals or associations possibly can!

Now, are the resident people of these valleys, or of the State generally, prepared to surrender their civil rights to incorporated capital, even though the men who represent them are? We hope not—we pray not. Capital, sailing under the railroad charter, seems to be in the most formidable shape that it has yet assumed in the United States; and yet railroad capital properly restrained could not be more usefully or beneficially employed. Confined to the business of freighting goods, transporting passengers and the government soldiers and the government mails, is all very proper; but to be clothed with the additional monopoly and power to usurp the branches of associated and individual trade, is not endurable. The time was when legislative enactments were based upon the popular demand by petition, by public meetings, and other demonstrations. That time has passed. But little has the great public now to say what laws they will or will not have. The mystic veil of secrecy is suspended over the legislative stage, and acts and actors are alike concealed till the mischief is accomplished and the remedy gone. All is conceived, carried out, and

completed in secrecy. The arguments to accomplish all this are more frequently found in the pockets than in the heads of those who do the work.

How many citizens of the valley of the Susquehanna, engaged in all the various trades and callings, would, if desired, have petitioned for this iniquitous law? How many knew of it? How many were consulted about it? And how bitterly each and every one would have condemned it if they had known of the secret ring in the secret chamber!

Between the Chesapeake Bay and the source of the Susquehanna, a distance of over four hundred miles, and including its branches, of more than five times that distance, with a population of more than half a million, not one solitary voice asked for the passage of this law, or will approve it, unless it be the voice of that man whose interest in railroad shares is of more importance to him than the success of his other private business. Why is it that when measures of this kind are brought before the legislative body the great constituency of the State cannot be notified of them? Why must the veil of secrecy be drawn over them? Is it because such projects of law cannot abide the public scrutiny, or is it because those who present them and those who vote them into life have a greater and more substantial interest at stake in their success than the

millions who are wantonly robbed of their political and civil rights ?

No radical change should ever be made in the statute law where the design is to create monopoly at the sacrifice of private rights or private property, until after full and public notice. If this were done the public feeling would not be so frequently shocked at the gross character of public enactments. The announcement of their passage is generally the first intimation the public has; it is informed by no preliminary step. And then the adroit and obscure language of these laws, which is designed to conceal their real object, requires more than ordinary intelligence to be comprehended. How important to the public welfare that these enormities should be checked, and checked, too, before the people shall have lost their entire power by delegating it to unscrupulous representatives, who do not hesitate to barter the sacred trust of a confiding constituency.

Year after year the people see receding from them those privileges which make them great and the State prosperous. Certainly the day has come when the working men of this country should speak out in significant language. The representative ought to know that he is clothed with delegated power, and that the rights of the constituency are a sacred trust; not a commodity that may be bartered away at the suggestion of a corporation ring.

The debased vassalage of Europe arises from the isolation of the people from thrones and principalities, which hold the political power ; between them and the people is an impassable barrier. In point of fact, is there any difference whether the sceptre be in the hands of Louis Napoleon or a grand railroad monopoly ? Can there be to a subjugated people a particle of difference ? There is nothing in a name. The people — and when I speak of the people I mean that great industrial class composed of tradesmen, merchants, farmers, mechanics, and laborers, who produce everything, and who alone must defend as well as preserve the principles of free government — should arouse to the importance of the situation, become their own law-makers, and proclaim in simple but positive language to incorporated capital, that its money is no longer an argument to convince the people of their littleness and induce them to surrender their citadel and stronghold of suffrage ; that the popular sovereignty is too important a matter to be the subject of partition. Between incorporated power and popular sovereignty there can be no “double reign.” The people will not bow down to nor worship Baal.

The nineteenth century has removed the scales from the eyes of working men, and seeing, they must comprehend, and comprehending, they should act. It is their duty to preserve those political elements which

make them strong, and they cannot afford to submit to part with them without an obstinate and manly struggle.

But I apprehend that the State of Pennsylvania is by no means an exception to the pure and unadulterated source of legislation. As to the fact of the ruling influence of capital, the States of this Union are very probably very much alike in their local representation. The power which money commands is great, and resistance to that power is feeble.

But when we consider the influence that capital has over the Congress of the United States, we are not so much surprised at the results it achieves over the local establishments of the States. Of the influence of capital over Congress, we shall have occasion to speak hereafter, in connection with banks, railroads, and the public domain.

Now the result of all this unjust and partial legislation bears directly and oppressively upon labor. It is the laboring men of the country who are mostly affected by it, and, therefore, this partial legislation is in direct and open hostility to the public welfare.



## CHAPTER XII.

## STRIKES AND CO-OPERATIVE MEASURES.

THE strikes of laboring men for higher wages are to be avoided, if possible. They are not only damaging in their consequences to the welfare of the men themselves, but to those who furnish them employment, as well as to the community generally. To put a stop to these, the cause must be removed. Upon this subject I have already dwelt to some extent, but in my judgment the most proper as well as most available method to prevent their occurrence is the adoption of co-operative measures.

These suspensions from labor, or strikes, as they are generally called, never arise through motives of idleness, or with a wanton or mischievous design. As a general thing, the laboring man goes to his daily task cheerfully and contentedly. He accepts his situation as a necessity, and with a genuine philosophy he unmurmuringly complies with his destiny, though that imposes continual toil. You do not, therefore, find him participating in strikes for an advance upon wages, unless it be an absolute duty, involving his own and his family's support.

But there is an indirect and more effectual way to accomplish this purpose. With the laborer as with all others, the grand question is food, raiment, and shelter. The cheaper this can be obtained the better; if he can save one-quarter of his earnings in the purchase of his necessary wants, and which one-quarter now goes into the pockets of middle-men and retail dealers, just so much it is to his advantage. And what an important matter it is to the laboring man to be enabled, during the year's labor, to save to himself and family the one-fourth part of his wages — a sum which would relieve him of many of his cares, and be the means of conferring many little indulgences which he is now denied.

This one-fourth it is that adds to the wealth and ease of others, and which honestly belongs to him. His hard earnings should not be appropriated by some adventurer in trade, when they may be made available to himself. Strikes are expensive matters; they are of no benefit to anybody, save to those persons who own the shares of great carrying and trading monopolies, and who have millions of tons of coal piled up at the market, and which more than doubled in price during the strike of the coal miners in the summer of 1869.

To companies of this character a strike is of vast profit. Millions are added to millions, while want is piled upon want in the tenant homes at the colliery.

This is one of the effects produced. But let us go into an examination in detail of this matter, as connected with the anthracite coal-fields and their operations. Suppose twenty thousand miners are on a strike in the three counties of Luzerne, Schuylkill, and Carbon.

I am informed that the number exceeded this estimate in May and June of the year 1869. There may have been as many on former occasions. Suppose the average wages of these people, including outside laborers and boys, to be two dollars a day. The average is probably too low, but it answers our purpose. This makes a total, per day, of forty thousand dollars; per week, of six days, two hundred and forty thousand dollars; per month, of twenty-six working days, one million and forty thousand dollars! These figures show the result of a strike in a single month, when indulged in by twenty thousand men in the mines. An enormous sum, and a dead loss to every one, save always capital, which seems to have the power to build higher its towering dome, while want and destitution broadly stare tens of thousands in the face. It must be an "ill wind that blows nobody good." In such a strike it is the great moneyed highway, the lord paramount, with its mountain of coal piled upon the wharves at the seaboard; anticipating and encouraging the very result which alike destroys the prosperity of operator and miner, and grows rich itself.

A month, therefore, lost to labor, is no ordinary matter. Let us see what this same month, in wages of a million and forty thousand dollars, would do to the working men, if saved, and not indirectly handed over to the strong box of capital, or properly, of highways.

Estimating the purchase or building of a co-operative store-house at \$10,000, and the stock of goods, flour, meats, provisions, and ordinary clothing materials at \$10,000 — total, twenty thousand dollars — and there is a sum sufficient to establish fifty-two of these co-operative stores in the three counties named. Such is the grand aggregate of one month lost to the men of the mines. Who, therefore, will not agree with us that a strike is the last resort of labor? Better, by far, that the price of labor be reduced with co-operative measures, than temporarily increased without them.

But further, add twenty per cent. on the sale of five hundred and twenty thousand dollars, that part of the co-operative fund above named, invested in goods and wares of miners' consumption, and we have the sum of one hundred and four thousand dollars! Where does this profit go to? Not to the miner and laborer; and yet under the system of co-operation every penny would be saved to them.

Now this last-named sum, which is totally lost to laboring men, would erect and stock with grain a flouring mill in each one of the three counties, each having a

capacity to make one hundred barrels of flour daily. A barrel of flour thus made would save to the working man twenty per cent. if the market value be \$8.00, which is probably a fair average — then there is saved to him \$1.60 on every barrel which he would consume. Estimate the consumption of a miner and family at ten barrels a year, and he would save in this item alone \$16.00, which now go to the middle-man and retailer. Here is an illustration of one item in the cost of living, showing what may be done by co-operation. The same principle may be extended to every other necessary which the laboring man requires.

Why, therefore, should he continue on year after year enriching manufacturers, middle-men, and retailers, when he has the whole thing within his own control? When we come to consider the gross earnings of the men who raise and prepare the anthracite coal which is yearly sent to market, the figures startle us. We are surprised at the immense sum. It is estimated that there are not less than forty thousand people engaged in the excavation and preparation of anthracite coal. Averaging the wages of these at \$2.00 per day, and supposing the year to consist of three hundred available working days, and the sum total of wages amounts to twenty-four millions of dollars. If, therefore, but ten per cent. of this large sum could be retained by laboring men, through co-operative measures, it is two mil-

lions four hundred thousand dollars. But by these same measures they can save to themselves twenty-five per cent., or six millions of dollars annually. And if they adopt co-operative measures which will promote this object, who has a right to complain? Shall it be denounced as monopoly? Shall some corporation renew the old and worn-out song of conspiracy? Monopoly is everywhere; it seems to be the ruling measure of the day. What complaint can be raised against the legal or moral propriety of an association of laborers, engaged in any industrial pursuit, putting a portion of their earnings in joint stock, and dividing the profits which result from it?

They may just as properly be their own banker, manufacturer, merchant, or farmer as any other person or class of persons may be. The profits and income which inure to others and which arise indirectly from the labor of working men stand boldly out at every street corner — visible everywhere. Now, while it is by no means our purpose or pleasure to find fault with the prosperity of individuals or incorporated companies, we make these allusions to furnish labor a finger-board pointing to those fields which others falsely reap as the harvest of their own toil.

Why not put their own sickle into their own corn, and be themselves the gatherers of their own harvest? It is the imperative duty of the laboring man to buy

where he can buy the cheapest. This is an obligation alike due to his family and himself. The profits which others make out of his labor, if received by himself, would add so much to his comforts, and if overtaken by sickness or misfortune, furnish him with means to guard against want. And who is it that is not subject to these? It is very clear that a large share of his earnings of profits to others now go in another channel, and not in that leading to his own hearth-stone.

It is no part of this inquiry to follow up these profits and ascertain into whose coffers they go, but the fact is they do not add to the "stock in trade" of labor. This we know. The community at large would certainly be more benefited if working men received these profits.

The product of the anthracite mines during the current year will probably reach fifteen millions of tons. The average sale per ton of this production will be, say, five dollars. The total, seventy-five millions of dollars. Deduct from this twenty-five millions for mine labor, and twenty millions for construction, repairs, interest, taxes, etc., and there remains thirty millions. This is divisible between highways and operators. The highways get the lion's share; more than eighty per cent. of it, probably.

The middle-men and retailers of mine goods are better off than the operators, for they get at least in the

way of profits twenty per cent. of the twenty-five millions paid for labor ; equal to five millions of dollars. Every farthing of this last-named sum, by wise and proper co-operative measures, may be retained by the miners and their associate laborers. They have but to determine and the matter is settled, and settled finally.

These are large figures I have put down, but the subject as represented will bear the closest criticism ; and in all probability, before twenty more years are added to the calendar, the production of anthracite coal will be doubled ; the number of men it now furnishes with employment will be doubled, and this will add forty thousand more strong and substantial arguments in favor of co-operative measures.

Are they practicable ? Can these associations be created and managed and made to answer the purposes we anticipate ? Can they be made beneficial to the persons engaged in them, or are the risks and chances of bad management and incompetent or dishonest agents an obstacle which will impair if not destroy all that is expected to result from their adoption ? Co-operative pursuits, like those of an individual or joint-stock enterprise, to succeed, must as a matter of course be conducted with skill, judgment, economy, and honesty. To assume that working men do not possess these qualifications is an unwarrantable conclusion. The man who has a contingent interest in the branch of business



under his management is the one with whom a correct business man prefers to intrust a controlling and guiding power. Far better is such an agent than he who is employed by the day or month, and who has nothing to gain by the profits nor lose by the want of success.

Under the recognized forms of co-operative management, all are principals — all are interested ; each therefore feels a responsibility in the success of the common venture, and each a motive in individual action. Thus far the result has been unusually encouraging. The parties in interest have reaped handsome profits, and the experiment has been entirely satisfactory. It is of quite modern growth ; it has but reached a quarter of a century.

“The twelve poor weavers of Rochdale,” England, are the “pioneers” of a system which is destined to do more for the real, substantial benefit of the working men of the world, than any other device which human skill and ingenuity have yet presented. Twenty-five years ago they formed the association, under the name of “The Equitable Pioneers of Rochdale,” with a capital of seventy-five (\$75.00) dollars ; this stock was divided into twelve shares of \$6.25 each. Here was laid the corner-stone of the great co-operative establishment, and like most beginnings of great and momentous measures, it started in comparative poverty.

But by good management, economy, and, above all, *honesty of purpose*, the "Pioneers" now have an association of seven thousand members, and a working capital of one million of dollars. Bravo! for "the twelve poor weavers." Among this apostolic number there has been some one head with an intellect and capacity that would have set off becomingly the shoulders of the best statesman or general of modern times.

As this is John Bright's town, whom we regard as one of the greatest living statesmen, and whose big, generous heart is ever in accord and sympathy with the laboring, toiling millions, we can but believe that his prolific brain may have been made contributory to the scheme of "the twelve poor weavers." And it may be, too, that John Bright's heart and brain may be duplicated in the person of one of these same "twelve poor weavers of Rochdale."

Because a man is a weaver is no reason why he may not have the loftiest faculty of thought. A stonemason upturned the theories of twenty centuries; and a blacksmith has mastered a great number of languages. The learned and the rich should not look contemptuously upon the working poor. God has dealt indiscriminately with his mental gifts. He is no respecter of persons. Dives sinks below Lazarus; purple and fine linen at last below rags.

Let us examine this Rochdale Pioneer establishment. As it is the beginning of co-operative measures, it will repay us for the time of an examination in detail. And when we contemplate the increase in numbers of this association from but twelve to seven thousand, the increase of a capital of seventy-five dollars to one million, and all the result of twenty-five years, we must conclude that there has been vast wisdom as well as economy and practical knowledge in their guidance and control. Co-operation is not the child of accident; its immense success has not been the result of chance. Wisdom, economy, skill, honesty are written in golden letters all over the temple created by the "twelve poor weavers of Rochdale."

"That concern now has dry-goods, boot and shoe, clothing, and grocery stores, butcher shops, vegetable stores, a cotton factory, a flouring mill, a farm, a public library, a cemetery; and during the last year, after supplying their stockholders and other customers with all the necessities and many of the luxuries of life at less than the ordinary retail prices, it declared among the stockholders a dividend of thirty-three per cent. on their capital." Bravo! we repeat, for the "twelve poor weavers of Rochdale."

Indeed, it is almost incredible to realize the wonderful success of this co-operative association. Time does not furnish a parallel outside of the experience

of the men who started, owned, and managed this enterprise. It stands out boldly by itself; it is a beacon light towards which the eyes of the laboring men of the world may look with hope, as well as gladness. 'Tis their "cloud by day and their pillar of fire by night." Let them follow on with the same abiding faith and the same unflinching zeal as did their ancestors over the arid sands of the desert and the wilderness, and they will reach the promised land.

The result of "The Pioneers" is an argument for co-operation throughout the world; a consoling fact, a blazing reality. Its influence has been for some time exercised throughout the British islands, and during the last three years it has reached the American shores. Massachusetts took the lead, and that State is now in this enterprise far in advance of any other State in the Union.

From the annual report of the co-operative establishments in that State, which, under the law, they are required to make, there has been a wonderful progress. There are now about fifty co-operative stores in Massachusetts, with an aggregate capital of about a quarter of a million of dollars. These stores clear to the shareholders an average profit of twenty per cent. annually, besides the sum of ten per cent. which is required to be laid by, under a statute, as a contingent fund, until it shall reach thirty per cent. of

the capital of the association. This is a guard against loss or accident. These stores sell their goods at the lowest retail price to their own shareholders, as well as to others, and as low as other establishments of the vicinity. The last year's sales of some of them reached nearly a hundred and fifty thousand dollars. Their number is annually increasing. Thus far prosperity has attended all of them.

My object is not to treat of the mode and manner of conducting these establishments; I only point to them as evidences of success, and considering that they are the result of but three years of trial, they show conclusively that co-operation is by no means a myth, but that it has form as well as substance. To make effectual and perfect such co-operative organizations, legislation is a necessity. They should have the power to sue and be sued, hold property, and to enforce their own necessary rules and regulations; this cannot be dispensed with. Like all joint-stock operations, there must be a forcing and restraining power.

Experience has proven, in Massachusetts, that each shareholder should be limited by law to the amount of stock he shall hold. This is a wise and prudent idea; otherwise a few might become owners of all the stock, and thus defeat the sole aim and object of co-operation, which is to aid and furnish facilities to the working many. Massachusetts law restrains the stock-

holders to a single share, the value of which, of course, depends upon the amount of capital and the number of contributors. This is a feature which comes down from the "Pioneers of Rochdale," like many other good qualities which the "poor weavers" have carefully collected together, and from the effects of which they have become exceedingly prosperous as an association.

The coal miners of this locality may derive much useful information by an examination of the Massachusetts statutes. Without an extended reference, I will give a condensed view of their more important provisions. These laws enable seven or more persons to form an association, designate a location for the transaction of business, provide for a board of managers, consisting of a president, treasurer, and three directors, to be elected annually, who have the absolute control of the concern; establish the amount of the capital stock, but not to exceed fifty thousand dollars; give authority to make by-laws; require an annual statement of the associate affairs; permit the holding of real estate; prohibit any shareholder from owning over a thousand dollars in stock, or having more than one vote; require all the stock to be paid in before the organization can make a start; no shareholder to be personally liable for a greater sum than his stock; ten per cent. of the capital to be annually

set aside for a sinking fund, till it shall amount to thirty per cent. of the capital paid in, and exempt twenty dollars from attachment. These, in a nutshell, are the general features of the Massachusetts statutes, authorizing the formation of co-operative trading establishments. Their several provisions seem to be not only judicious and proper, but necessary for the benefit of those incorporated.

It therefore requires no argument to convince a laboring man, or any other man, of the utility of these co-operative schemes. The profit upon the sale or the manufacture of the necessities of life, and which the working man must have, is added to his treasury in the place of that of the middle-man or the retailer. He becomes his own merchant, manufacturer, and farmer. While the means of doing all this are not within his reach directly, there is an indirect road open to him by adding his mite to that of a hundred of his class, and the object is successfully attained.

Co-operation in this country, and particularly in this State (Pennsylvania), is in its infancy. But the beginning has been made, and the more speedily this is followed up the better will it be for the general condition of the laboring classes. Difficulties through agents who are not trustworthy, or who lack the necessary knowledge, and the fluctuation of market values, will, of course, occur. These are incidents which

will happen, and no sagacity, or knowledge, or human foresight can prevent them. Co-operative plans, like all others, must be subject to them. But this argument by no means weakens their beneficial character, nor should it be an obstacle in the way; disease, accident, want, and a thousand and one other incidents, all surround the great battlefield of life, and in turn they are all to be met. We cannot escape them. Selfishness is a glaring feature nowadays. The laboring man need not look for gratuitous aid or assistance in the way of hard dollars; if he lives at all, it is by hard knocks. He must take advantage of all the legal and fair means that are within his reach. If he does not, he but poorly discharges those obligations which he owes to his own family in reserving from the field of his toil and labor a few hours for leisure and recreation.

Who is harmed by the action of co-operative measures? The system in England, as well as in this country so far, has not been a cause of complaint. The measure may have diminished the chances of a few small dealers, and driven into some other occupation a class called middle-men, who occupy that part of the exchange mart between the producer and the retailer. The common good has been in no way impaired, but in our judgment greatly enhanced.

The system enables the laboring man to put twenty-



five cents of his daily earnings into a joint-stock adventure, which at the end of the year will have earned him seven more, all of which he will have saved by dealing at his own store, instead of that belonging to some one else. If he labor three hundred days in the year, he will have contributed to the joint fund at this rate \$75.00, and realized a profit of \$31.00. This is two per cent. less than the estimates of the Massachusetts co-operative stores, including the ten per cent. set aside for a sinking fund. In addition to this he will increase his savings by his purchasing at his own establishment at a lower rate than elsewhere.

From an examination of the statistics of "The Pioneers," and the New England associations, there can be no doubt but that their dividends amount to thirty per cent. annually. I am unable to ascertain the annual profits realized from the "Trade Unions" of New York and Brooklyn, which from the information I can gather are really co-operative measures. These trade unions go back to 1860 as the date of their existence. They are antecedent to those of the Eastern States.

From a newspaper notice before me "there are in New York city and Brooklyn over one hundred trade unions, only three of which were in existence before 1860, and three-fourths have been organized since 1865. There are sixteen trades which have organized

national unions, controlling in the aggregate over one thousand branches, and one hundred and eighty-four thousand one hundred and twenty-one members. The national labor union, holding the same relation to the State union as the United States Government bears to the separate States, meets in Congress every year at the principal cities in the country, and issues charters to the branch societies."

Whether this New York plan of a union of different branches under one head is an improvement on "The Pioneers," may admit of argument. My judgment inclines me to favor the plan of "The Pioneers," as more simple, and therefore more easily made available, than the one adopted by the New York union, though it may be that my view is incorrect. The system, like that of all other new enterprises, must be tested, and examined. That one which is best adapted to the object of its design will be the one which will prevail in the end. I do not care so much as to the manner of running the machinery, as I do to the fact of really putting the machinery in motion.

As to the real benefit of this system to the laboring man, there cannot be a question. If he does not see it, he certainly ought to, and particularly if he reside within the anthracite coal region, where co-operation has not yet escaped its swathing-bands; it is in its infancy, and whether it shall so remain, is a very im-

portant matter as regards the best interest, of more than fifty thousand miners.

Let the laboring men of Pennsylvania take courage and follow up the noble example of "the poor weavers of Rochdale." Seventy-five dollars total capital; shares, \$6.25. Twenty-five years of experiment, and shareholder, number seven thousand; capital amounts to one million! With this encouraging example, let no seven laboring men of any of the trades, or branches of manufacturing or mining industry in this land, deny that they have in their own hands the key of their own prosperity.

You see men growing rich about you; their wealth comes from the profits arising from your own toil and industry. You contribute the money upon which others thrive. Your wages are your own; every farthing of them beyond your own and your families' wants should be laid in store to make you comfortable when age comes upon you, or when sickness or accident may chance to cross your path. There is no legal or moral obligation that you should share your earnings with any one. The men with whom you trade become affluent; it comes from the profits they realize upon your necessary wants. You cannot blame them. Trade and commerce, like the air we breathe, is the common property of us all. Rather blame yourselves for not taking advantage of the means within your own reach.

You not only build the palaces, but you furnish the silk for the cracker of the nabob's whip ; better by far that you crack your own whip, and live in your own castle. Slumber not, but awake to the occasion. Why distrust your ability to manage, or your means to start a co-operative measure ? It is true your means may be small alone, but aggregated they become immense.

The world is made of *atoms*, the endless shores of the sea are but *particles* of sand, and the vast, heaving, boundless ocean is composed only of *drops* of water ; a mist, to-day scarcely discernible in the clouds, to-morrow becomes the ocean bearing up fleets and navies. Put therefore your atoms, and particles, and drops together, and you will have an aggregate that will astonish you. And you will have done nobody wrong ; you will but have exercised an energetic faculty that you and your ancestors have permitted to sleep for ages. Practical co-operation is the great basis upon which rest the pillars of the republic, a united body of men, a united body of States. Co-operation, literally co-operation !

Were this thing at this time an untried experiment, then there might well be cause for hesitation, cause for doubt. Such is not the fact ; it has been thoroughly tested, and the result is a grand success. Between you and a like success there is no field of speculative

theories and conjectural results. "The twelve poor weavers of Rochdale" have straightened the paths, and tumbled over the mountains, with the forests of *buts* and *ifs*, and placed the light-house, which was before obscured under a murky atmosphere, fairly before your eyes.

Look at co-operation ; it will bear inspection. This is not merely a civilized, but an enlightened age ; the rust and mildew which for generation succeeding generation have accumulated and obstructed human progress, are fast being dissipated, and the man of the multitude is taking his position—the one God designed for him ; he has been sleeping a long time, but he is getting his eyes open at last. And whether he holds in his hands the sceptre or the pick, the official scroll with the seals of office, or the shuttle, it is all the same. He stands upon the broad platform of equality. His manhood is conceded, particularly when battles are to be fought and millions fed and clothed.

If "twelve poor weavers of Rochdale" can produce a revolution in the British islands, it will be a burning, seething shame, if thirty thousand miners of this coal field cannot put up a store of their own, build a flouring mill, and buy a patch of land for their corn ! If not, then they are the proper subjects of plunder by petty chapmen, green grocers, and pedlers.

Their own pride of character should not permit this.

Co-operation is before you; you see it in every bank, every railroad company, every insurance office, every manufacturing establishment; and in short in every incorporated association, the purposes of which cannot be accomplished by individual means. Then why not make it bend to your own wants and necessities? You establish a "basis," and bring capital to terms. You make unions to fix and establish the prices of labor. You demand that the day's work shall be eight hours, and the legislative body indorses it. You stop work, and the machinery or the mines stop. You resume, and the steam whistle again echoes through the valleys. Why not, then, start your co-operative store, and mill, and farm? Begin at once by making your articles of association.\* In this State there is already a law upon the statute-book. This will cost you little; then organize, fixing the amount of your earnings which should go in as common stock. Appoint your managing directors, and the object will be attained.

If your number is an hundred and the share of each fifty dollars, this is equal to five thousand dollars: quite enough for the capital of a co-operative store. If properly managed, this at the end of three years will pay you in dividends all you originally put in, and in the meantime you will have been supplied with all your

necessary wants at a much less price than you have been paying for them in past years. And so, from year to year extend your joint efforts to other branches of business which come legitimately within the necessary line of your supply.

While my remarks have been somewhat confined to suggestions and hints for the miners of Pennsylvania, they will apply with equal force to the persons engaged in the different trades, occupations, and callings elsewhere; and may be carried out with equal propriety, and the same facilities of success, by each and every branch of trade or industry in the land. With the many examples of the kind in this country as well as in others, it is a matter of surprise that the coal region should have been the last, or among the last, fields for their adoption.

So much for the plan of joint associated labor; that it will become more general, there can hardly exist a doubt. It is feasible, it is just and proper, and because it may be urged that labor is already well paid in this country, it is no argument against its adoption. The condition of the working classes needs improvement. Many of the trades people, particularly in large towns and cities, are often out of employment, and not unfrequently suffer for the necessities of life. The country is rich and prosperous, and there is no good

reason why any class of her industrious citizens should not be provided with proper food and clothing as well as employment. To do this is a solemn duty which each owes to the other.



## CHAPTER XIII.

## THE EIGHT-HOUR SYSTEM.

It is my purpose in this chapter to examine the eight-hour system.

On the 14th of April, 1868, the general assembly of Pennsylvania enacted the following law: "That on and after the first day of July, eighteen hundred and sixty-eight, eight hours of labor, between the rising and setting of the sun, shall be deemed and held to be a legal day's work in all cases of labor and service by the day, where there is no contract or agreement to the contrary." (Pamphlet laws of 1868, p. 99.)

This enactment, however, excludes agricultural service by the week, month, or year, and permits a special contract in any case.

The substance of our inquiry is not as to the number of hours a man *can* perform manual labor out of the twenty-four, but rather how many hours he *ought* to labor in the twenty-four for the ordinary *per diem* of wages. If he were a beast, and the only object were to get just as much labor out of him as his physical powers could possibly endure, and then turn him into his stall and

feed him as a beast, that would be a very different matter. Such a rule may be applicable to an age of slavery, but not to one of high civilization. We have already seen and spoken of this in former pages, in our allusion to the slaves and "poor white trash" of the Southern States; — very good examples for a twelve-hours system of labor. But when we come to apply labor to men instead of things, a widely different rule should be adopted. *Men*, not *things*, should give the tone to modern society; men who can think and reflect, — not creatures who go to the field of labor with the rising of the sun and return to the stall when the stars appear. Those who do this are the many of whom Voltaire speaks as having nothing to do in establishing the spirit of the nation. It is the general aggregate of the whole registry in this land who form the spirit of the nation. Look to it, then, that the great mass who hold in their hands the destiny of the republic be men, and not slaves or serfs, or of that type which composed the "poor white trash" of the South.

Adopting, therefore, a standard based upon this view of the character of the governing multitude, we can much better determine what number of hours the laboring man should have imposed upon him. We are not merely to consider his personal condition, but also the relations which that same personal condition will have upon the body politic.

The political element of labor in the United States has a significance which it does not possess under less liberal and democratic governments. Here the majority is king,—the majority of no class, but the majority of the whole people.

The source and fountain of political power in a republic must be pure as well as intelligent; otherwise the majority principle can never be safely relied upon. An ignorant, corrupt, and demoralized people, therefore will form but a very poor substratum for the political power. This view has aroused the whole population to the importance of public free schools. That very necessity for universal intelligence which exists in this country, is the last argument with kings and princes. The American government cannot afford to lower the social condition of working men. European establishments may do so,—it is their policy; but such is not the policy here. We, like them, require the working man to fill the ranks of war, but unlike them we need him also in the legislative hall and in the cabinet. He ought, therefore, to get more pay for less manual service than he gets with any other nation or people. Here he occupies the double capacity of ruler and subject. In this light let us examine the eight-hour law.

Mr. Fowler, in his little treatise on "Animal and Mental Physiology" (which has passed through twenty-six editions,—an evidence of its merit,—and which

contains a very great amount of useful and practical knowledge, collected with much labor and analyzed with superior judgment), says that "every adult person should labor every day from two to six hours if they would preserve perfect health, and keep aloof from disease and premature decay."

Think of this, ye modern belles of Broadway, who count labor a disgrace, and those engaged in it as beneath your consideration; and Broadway in this sense includes half of the Western Hemisphere. Labor a disgrace! God labored in the creation, and he enjoined it in express words upon the first man. And who, pray, shall pass a supplement to His law? Who dares take exception to His wisdom? There are such, if their lives and practices are an index of their thoughts.

How many hours ought the laboring man of the United States to work daily, to maintain the best interests of the government? "That is the question,"—not slave labor, not the peasant labor of Europe, but how much free labor, such as is only known in this country. Great Britain is coming to the same free-labor basis. Two or three more ecclesiastical land and homestead suffrage laws of a liberal cabinet, and the beginning will have been reached. John Bright and Gladstone labor as freemen, and the laboring men of Great Britain must labor as freemen; then with unity and perseverance the reform will be a living fact.

Eight hours of labor out of the twenty-four are enough to develop the full powers of the laboring man, and make him of the highest value to the nation. This will leave him four out of every twelve for improvement, for rest or recreation.

Elihu Burritt worked daily his eight hours, and devoted the remaining four to the acquisition of knowledge. He could not only forge a horse-shoe well, but he forged the key which unlocked to him the door of twenty different languages. Renowned for his skill in the shop, and renowned as a philosopher!

Not every smith who wields the sledge, or miner who sinks the shaft and drives the gangway, can expect to become an Elihu Burritt; but every one should put himself in the position to avail himself, if he wishes, of the opportunity. If he do not turn this advantage to account, the fault lies at his own door. If he be wise, prudent, and industrious, these four spare hours, or one-third of the twelve, may be turned to immense advantage, both to him and his family. If his mind do not lead him to literary, mechanical, or scientific knowledge, let him devote these extra hours to the improvement of his home, his garden, his orchard, his grounds, if he have them; and if he have not, let him add two more hours to the day's labor by special contract, and he can soon possess them. Temperance, frugality, and industry have much to do with the matter, and to *will* is half the battle.

Daily wages have changed during the last half century, and in the same proportion has changed the cost of living; but we have by far too many luxuries now, which are regarded as absolute necessities. It is doubtful if we can retrace our steps. It is a pity that this progress, as it is falsely called, should have led to this false appetite. A day's wages for farm labor in my youth, forty years ago, was a bushel of rye or corn, or half a bushel of wheat, equal to a half dollar. But the half dollar of forty years ago is now quadrupled; in other words, it would buy four times as much as at the present time; and when we come to consider there are four times as many *imaginary* necessities of life now as then, our fifty cents becomes a very small affair.

In those halcyon days, my father paid for my board at a Grammar School a dollar and a half per week. They charge now, at what is called a first-class New York hotel, five dollars a day, or thirty-five dollars a week, *extras* not included. For what? aye, for what? Whether this extortion comes within Christian rules, is reserved for the determination of others; but there is one view of the case in which Christian and infidel will agree—that it is tremendously steep; especially when, after taking dinner in my own house, in Wilkes Barré, at one o'clock, P.M., and my supper half-way at Easton, I *then* am charged with dinner, tea, and supper at my hotel in New York!

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I hope those who have been subjected to a like pressure, under the name of business, will at least give me credit for daring to speak of this mode of doing *business*.

Business is business, of course, and board \$5.00, bath \$1.00, fire \$1.00, messenger 50 cents, servants 50 cents, total \$8.00 a day! This is in character with the business of old Mr. Shylock, of whom we read, and who lived, if we mistake not, in Venice some years ago! Business! That worthy middle-aged gentleman, who figures in the pages of "Our Mutual Friend," answering to the sobriquet of Rogue Riderhood, pursued a business and lived by the "sweat of his brow," spending his life in "honest hard work," which we are informed consisted in throwing men into the Thames, and then fishing them out for a published reward.

Notwithstanding the times may have undergone a material change, and that luxuries may have now become wants, there is no pretext, under moral or civil law, which justifies extortion; nor is there so much difference in prices, past and present, as the world seems to have settled upon.

And yet I very much doubt whether that eleventh-hour man, who received full pay for work in the Judean vineyard and got the notorious and world-renowned *penny*, could buy as many necessities of life with his penny, in the "Hill country," as he could if

living to-day in that same country, for a dollar. Twenty centuries have made great and radical changes in everything, and if through these changes the respectability of labor in this country shall descend the scale as rapidly during the next half century as it has in the last, a nation of idlers may control something in the shape of a republic, but it will not be the republic of our hard-handed, hard-working fathers.

Labor is by no means as reputable and fashionable as in those days when Daniel Webster laid up stone wall on his father's farm in New Hampshire, or when Horace Greeley worked twelve hours a day for \$11.00 a month. And is there any reason why labor should not be respectable now? Forty years ago a hard hand was a sure introduction to the best society. Its owner was ushered straight into "*the room*," but now it leads only to the back door and the kitchen. It is your soft-fingered gentry who have access now to the drawing-room and parlor, and the insignificant beau who can jabber a little French, or has the threadbare and cast-off title, forfeited by his ancestors for crime, or even one falsely assumed, who becomes among the girls a perfect lion.

He has the elements of success! Oh! for a return to those primitive days of honest simplicity, when we could sleep with unlocked doors; when all performed manual labor, and idleness was the exception, not the



rule ; when the laborer was respected and the sluggard was despised. Are those days forever gone ?

Fifty years ago, in my native town of Plymouth, Luzerne county, Pa., every man, woman, and child under twelve years of age, and who was in health, labored regularly six days a week, with but two solitary exceptions.

Adolph Heath, an indolent, lazy tailor, would work at his trade, "tramping" from house to house, probably upon an average three days in the week ; the balance of his time he would lounge about the mechanics' shops and street corners, watching his opportunity for gossip ; and his customers invariably disappointed, and always denouncing the poor tailor, but probably more from disappointment at not getting their jobs done according to promise, than from his indolent habits. Lager beer had then given no evidence of existence in this country, and taverns were few and far between ; so the loungeer was driven to the shops of the mechanics, or took his chances to meet with people of kindred sympathies on the cross roads, or, perchance, at the village store.

The other was Absalom Rumsey, a farm hand, who labored from two to three days weekly, and disposed of the remaining days in drunkenness. Absalom, however, played the fiddle, and would gather up a few Spanish sixpences, the small currency of that day, and

in this way was rather higher in the social scale than Adolph. Both were bachelors — and the world at large, nor its women or children, were the worse off for their indolent and dissolute habits.

My father impressed upon my mind the fact that laziness and intemperance were the paths which led to the prison and the scaffold, and he always explained his argument as illustrated in the examples of Adolph and Absalom; so that whenever I met either of these *gentlemen* — a frequent occurrence — I took the opposite side of the road, shunning them as a moving pestilence, whose touch would be contagion and ruin.

In that same place at this remote day, I fear that the followers of Adolph and Absalom have become very numerous. I notice now, as I occasionally pass the streets of that village, that there are numerous lager-beer signs, and pretty strong evidences are about of both idleness and intemperance. But then the village has grown from five hundred to five thousand people; and I fear that the ratio of those two cardinal vices have increased in a much greater proportion.

But I am wandering; let us get back to the eight-hour law. Prices of all the necessities of life have changed; the modes and fashions have changed; government itself has changed; therefore the old standard number of hours, constituting the laborers'

day's work must undergo a change. We have already noticed that most of the public employments and the general business marts are regulated by a uniform number of hours, during the day—from five to eight hours, and but few of them eight.

The old idea of beginning business at seven o'clock in the morning, and continuing till six or seven in the evening, has long since been exploded. It seems strange that the banker, the broker, the merchant, and the general business man should now be limited by custom to a shorter number of hours in their daily employment than that required of the laboring man. There is no reason why there should be such a discrimination. The laborer is as good as the banker, and his rights are quite as much to be regarded. The articles his labor produces increase in value; his services, therefore, should in the same proportion. This would certainly be the case if he did his work by contract, and not by the day. Shortening the number of hours which should make the legal day, is but another way of reaching the point. The laboring man's expenses of living increase, his taxes multiply, his rent grows larger yearly; custom has added a thousand and one new features to the family outgoes; all these are to be met and paid for; it is with him, therefore, a necessity that he should be better paid than before.

And how much stronger does the necessity for the increase of wages exist where the employment is beset with danger and death. The occupation of miners, under the most careful and prudent management, is one of extreme risk and exposure. The people whom we daily meet in the mining region, with but one leg or one arm, or with some other bodily injury, too plainly show the dangers which surround the mine; and there is almost constant daily occurrence of serious accident.

When, therefore, we consider this branch of public industry, in connection with the eight-hour system, we are convinced of the propriety of such a law. But we are not to be understood as confining our approval of the eight-hour system to mine labor, though there are, perhaps, stronger reasons for enforcing the eight-hour system in the mines than in other branches of industry.

All the branches of mechanical pursuits equally claim the benefit of the law, and they should all be equally entitled to it; all have to encounter the increased expense of living, as the seeming necessary wants daily multiply.

Numerous are the customs, habits, and fashions that might well be dispensed with; but it is futile to talk of their abolition as to a particular class only: this cannot be done. The equality principle of our laws

and political privileges, through habit and practice, has extended itself to nearly all the relations of society. The inquiry, whether I can afford all the personal luxuries and superfluities of my neighbor, seldom enters into the consideration. If he have them, I am but too apt to pursue his example, though probably far beyond my means. It is a part of our education to feel that we are on a perfect scale of equality with the most favored around us ; in most things we are, but the example of those who are rich is but too frequently disastrous to those who have not the same means.

To curb or restrain this propensity seems to be a difficult matter. The wealthy should furnish a better example. This, however, is not to be looked for in a country where the only badge of nobility is money. I am by no means sanguine in the belief that we shall ever get back to the economical days of our fathers. To recede is by no means a feature in American customs. If it were possible to abandon the bad ones and retain the good ones, we would exhibit a trait of character to which the history of nations does not furnish a parallel. Could we but remain at our present point of extravagance, it would be well ; but this undefinable word progress brings with its good qualities, alas ! a good many bad ones.

It seems that we cannot stand still ; we must move

on, and thus are annually added to an already unprecedented catalogue a thousand new wants and follies; and as the public generally regards them almost necessities, so they must be classed. Right or wrong, they are to be endured!

Ambition is a plant of very general growth on American soil, and while we cannot take exception to it, we may well hope that there may be a little more discrimination in the future. One grand difficulty in our path is the imitation of European follies. Paris is the grand centre of fashions; it is also the grand centre of vice. The imitation of her fashions will in the end lead to the imitation of her vices also. What have the American people to do with Paris? What do we owe to that city of follies and corruption? Why are the heads of our young people addled with the vain things of that immoral and corrupt city? Sodom and Gomorrah had their day of vice; and so had they their day of reckoning! Americans should fix and establish their own social customs, and their own fashions. Were this so, there would not be a thousand additional wants yearly added to the list! Heaven knows it is breaking down the industrial habits of our people. Many of those who will follow must expect to realize in the sequel want and starvation. To this number there may be but a few exceptions. The

vast majority must expect breakers ahead, if they will listen to French follies and ape their vices.

The hard-handed yeomanry of this land should sound the tocsin of reformation. To no other class can the appeal be successfully made. They can do it. Let them by their example teach those who profess to move in higher circles that there are still people here, a large majority, too, who have the will and the power to raise a barrier against the introduction of foreign customs, which are constantly weakening and sapping the very foundations of American liberty, and endangering those habits which heretofore have made us so great and prosperous.

The eight-hour law coupled with profligacy and useless expenditure will not benefit the laboring man. The eight-hour law with industry and economy will enable him to gratify all his necessary and prudent wants, as well as those of his family. As he is of the majority, let it be his aim and object to set the example of frugality to capital, if capital disdain to furnish that same example to him.

Cincinnatus surrendered the sword for the plough-handle. Jefferson gave up the commission of President for that of overseer of the poor in a country village. Silas Wright raised by the labor of his own hands the fruits spread upon his table. Shoddy would stand aghast at these servile acts.

Shoddy is the offspring of capital, and the laces and velvets and gewgaws that make the robes for Shoddy, would, if stitched together, cover half the continent! If there is to be a return to the healthful, frugal, industrious days of the Republic, it must be by the precept and example of laboring men.

There has been no one single act which is so well calculated to place labor in a more commanding and influential position than the law limiting the day's work to eight hours. It is a law now somewhat local, but it should become general throughout the entire country. Its wise provisions will not merely add to the means of the working man, but also to his health and happiness. It will dispel from his own mind the idea of his being a mere drudge to his superiors; he will have the means with proper industry to make his spare time more available to his wants, because he will be released from two hours of toil which the old system daily imposed upon him. These two hours may be turned to good account. They are so much gained. They are now his; before, they were the property of the employer. Let him therefore see that they be so disposed of that his comforts may not only be increased, but that he may, in his hours of leisure, read and inform himself, and learn that he is of more account to the body politic than he before supposed.



He is truly one of the forty millions of sovereigns who rule this land, and holding this high estate, let him learn also to wield his sceptre with judgment and discretion.

Adam Smith, in his "Enquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations" (vol. i. p. 9), says that "the annual labor of every nation is the fund which originally supplies it with all the necessities and conveniences of life which it annually consumes, and which consists always, either in the immediate product of that labor, or in what is purchased with that product from other nations. According therefore as this product, or what is purchased with it, bears a greater or smaller proportion to the number of those who are to consume it, the nation will be better or worse supplied with all the necessities and conveniences for which it has occasion."

This doctrine, proclaimed to the world eighty years ago by one of the most learned men of the eighteenth century, has lost none of its force in the lapse of time ; nor has any feature of the progress of the age changed it in the least particular. It is labor alone now which "supplies all the necessities and conveniences of life," and without it society would necessarily return to that original roving condition incident to the nomadic manner of life. We cannot afford to go back to the primitive ancestral days, and rely for a scanty living

upon the cattle of the hills and plains, and the spontaneous productions of the earth. We have passed that period, and have somewhat improved our manners, if we have also increased our vices.

This same author further remarks, that "the real price of everything — what everything really costs to the man who wants to acquire it, is the toil and trouble of acquiring it. What everything is really worth to the man who has acquired it and who wants to dispose of it or exchange it for something else, is the toil and trouble which it can save to himself and which it can impose upon other people. And further, what is bought with money or with goods is purchased by labor as much as what we acquire by the toil of our own body." (Vol. i. p. 44.)

Adopting this plain, common-sense view of the subject, labor alone is the whole producing cause of the entire wealth of nations and individuals. It is the foundation upon which capital is based, and capital cannot exist independent of labor. As well can the air we breathe support life without its oxygen as can capital live in the absence of labor.

All that the labor of an individual produces over the scanty living which he receives, is added in some way to capital. To illustrate the argument, say the miner receives seventy-five cents for the production of a ton of coal; this same ton of coal is worth, by the

time it reaches the market, five dollars. The process of breaking, screening, and preparing may be seventy-five cents more, making a dollar and fifty cents. To this add mine rent, say thirty cents, and twenty for waste in the process of manufacture, and we have a total of two dollars by the time it is placed in the car ready for market. What, therefore, becomes of the remaining three dollars? It will not be pretended that it is worth three dollars to put the ton down at the market. Two dollars is an extravagant price. Here, then, is a dollar or more profit which goes somewhere. Does the operator make it? Not when coal sells at five dollars a ton. It is the highway. Suppose that the highway transports fifteen millions of tons annually, then the highway has made profits to the amount of fifteen millions of dollars!

This view assumes a market value of five dollars a ton; but when that value is increased to six, seven, or eight dollars a ton, which is no unusual occurrence, the profits become immense, and thus the operator may come in for a share, but the highway has Argus-eyes and grasping propensities, and will still take the lion's share of the profits.

But this same ton of coal, till brought out of the mine by labor, has comparatively no value. What value it may have is wholly produced by labor; and so with every bushel of grain and every article of commerce

which passes through the machine shop. Labor does it all; but what is wrong, either under Divine or human law, is that the men who hold, control, and own capital should become enriched, and the great producing classes live merely from hand to mouth.

I do not pretend that labor should monopolize its whole product, nor do I assent to the justice of the case that capital should have it all. In that state of civil society, like the Chinese, where rank and orders are tolerated — where labor stamps the inferior class with degradation — such a state of things may be tolerated; and so throughout the European governments, where classes and grades in society are a part of the political system. We, however, in this country, repudiate all these ranks and orders, and come down to the square and level of a national equality. We should therefore protest against that system of political economy which makes one man do the work and permit another who holds labor in contempt reap the benefit of it.

As labor is the producing cause of all the necessities and conveniences of life, labor should receive its full share of these necessities and conveniences.

To it they properly belong, and it is amazing that the laboring men of this country, with the facilities afforded them of education, and with the knowledge to see and appreciate their political power, should not

avail themselves of the situation which they may and can secure. Not by coercive or revolutionary power, for this would be discreditable, but by the civil prerogative which the Constitution and the laws invest them with.

Capital should not be destroyed. Its perch, however, is quite too exalted. It is, in the absence of a system of a government which tolerates a nobility, taking the actual position which exists under such a government, only using another and different name. There should be no conflict between labor and capital; both are necessary for the well-being of the State, nor would there be any conflict between the two, if capital would only be contented with a proper share of the product of labor, or that which even approximates to a fair division.

Money represents capital, but what is capital? It is the representation only of what labor has achieved. It is the three or five dollars additional which labor has put upon the ton of coal. Has the miner no further interest in the ton of coal after he has produced it? All the value it has was given by his pick and shovel. If, therefore, the price is higher in market to-day than yesterday, he should have a portion of that difference.

This is what is meant by "basis" in miner's phrase; and a very sensible idea it was that suggested basis.

But what is money? Of itself can it produce anything? Man can neither eat nor digest it; it is said the ostrich can, but it can hardly be supposed that the bird would live long on the article, even of the purest metal. Like the bill of exchange or the promissory notes called "greenbacks," it is the representative of value by common consent. There is no intrinsic value in either. The greenback would not make a more complete garment than the fig leaf. The world lived on very prosperously for ages without it. Coined money was not known till the time of Servius Tullius. Before this, the Romans used unstamped bars of copper as exchange. Homer informed us that the armor of Diomedes cost only nine oxen, but that of Glaucus cost an hundred oxen. Sea-shells pass current in the interior of Africa. Iron was the money used by the Spartans, and copper by the Romans.

Dr. Adam Smith asserts, but with what degree of truth I am unable to state, that in the early colonial days of this country the common instrument of commerce and exchange in Virginia was tobacco; in Newfoundland, dried cod; and in some of the West India colonies, sugar. It may be probable that from this Newfoundland specie arose the title of "Codfish Aristocracy." He also states that in his day (less than a hundred years ago), "at a village in Scotland a work-

man would carry nails instead of money to the baker's shop or the ale-house," as exchange.

Thus we learn that money, as we understand the name, is of very modern origin in the commercial history of the world. Can it produce anything? Plant it; will it grow and reproduce its like? The penny which was exhibited to Christ with the superscription of Cæsar, is a penny still. Two thousand years have made it no larger, no heavier. Trade and custom may have given it greater commercial, but not intrinsic value.

Let custom and usage adopt any other representative of value, and then gold may be of some account to set out the tables of the rich in the shape of plate, or for the savage to adorn his nose and ears and ankles with metallic gewgaws.

When Pizarro made the conquest of Peru, the country abounded with gold, but the poor Inca used it only for the decoration of his person and altars; nor did the Aztec of Mexico consider it of value for any other purpose. Montezuma and Gautamozen, though rich in the estimation of their people, and probably so in reality, did not measure their wealth by a golden standard.

Custom and law fix a value to the gold dollar, but because this has been done does it follow as a necessary sequence that the gold dollar should supersede

the hard hand which produced it, or look down upon labor which it simply represents ?

How idle it is, therefore, to pretend that money can of itself produce anything. Labor alone, in the line of production, is supreme. Without labor the table of the wealthy would be but poorly spread; the appetite of the multitude would be unappeased, and the real necessities of life as well as conveniences and luxuries would fail.

This conceded, if there be an alternative as to which shall rule, labor or capital, let that one have the mastery which has the power to support life. But this is by no means necessary; they should act in accord, and in this way alone can the prosperity of all be consummated. The whole difficulty is caused by the constant strain of capital to overreach — to monopolize.

To illustrate this: grant a charter to an association of men to build a railroad under the pretext of transportation alone (and which till very lately has been considered the proper and only object of a railroad), and the moment they procure this they commence their importunities to the legislative body for authority to buy and sell, manufacture and traffic; and thus continue till they have the power and authority to engage in every branch of business.

The last indulgence of this kind, and which is a black page upon the statute book, was the grant which



I have referred to, giving railroad companies in this State authority "to make any contract with any individual, companies, or corporations." At a single blow a kind and indulgent legislature hit all private and personal occupations square in the face, and gave to the highways sovereign power. Will any of them inform us if a solitary individual, unconnected with these corporations, asked for the infliction of so great a wrong upon the people?

And still later legislation has transferred to a railroad company "nine millions of the public securities." These securities, it is said, are to be taken from the sinking fund of the State, where they were deposited for the cancellation of the public debt. A member of the House makes use of this remarkable language:

*"I understand that some railroad men are coming on here from New York with lots of money, and if we wait, some of the members may make better bargains!"*

What a commentary upon legislation! But one thing it does most conclusively establish—that the corporate power of the country has become absolutely dangerous to the liberties of the people. This fact cannot be disguised. Capital thus used becomes a terror to the people. They are shamefully deprived of their rights and privileges. Must it remain so? Is there no remedy?

It is delicate to charge home upon the legislature open corruption; but when one of the body uses the language we have quoted, what are we to think, and what can we say that will convey a just appreciation of our abhorrence? \*

\* Since writing the above, Gov. Geary has vetoed this infamous bill, and he is therefore entitled to the thanks of the people of this State.

## CHAPTER XIV..

CAPITAL AND LABOR CONSIDERED IN CONNECTION WITH  
LEGISLATION.

IF capital and incorporated power could but cease to demand the exorbitant privileges which they do, there could be a salutary step towards reform. But so long as they find a kindly response upon the part of the legislative body, so long will they continue to usurp personal rights. While every demand is acceded to, their importunities will have no end. Now they have but to ask, and they receive ; nor is the magnitude of the gift a matter of a moment's consideration.

Labor has its sphere, and so has capital. So long as they remain within the limits of this, everything will move smoothly, and there will be no collision. But when either transcends the limits, trouble will come. Trouble has come. Public attention has become excited and nervous at the continual encroachment of money upon those rights and immunities which alone make the State great and the masses prosperous.

As the great mass of the people see how capital is gradually assuming the reins of government, and is con-

tinually growing stronger while they are becoming weaker, discontent must follow, and the inevitable result of this, history most fully exhibits. When the people are not deemed of sufficient consequence to be consulted about the concession of their power to incorporated companies by their representatives, it will be as well for them to turn their attention to the propriety of changing, if not the modes of representation, at least its men.

If capital will still persist in its effort to perfect a complete subjugation of the labor of the country, and this it will attain if not interrupted in its headlong career, why, then there is but one alternative left, and that is a union of labor against it. This is the last phase the question will take ; but while reason is paramount this will never be a necessity.

“Whom the gods would destroy, they first make mad.” Never was a truism uttered which had so strong an application as this to the present moneyed power of Pennsylvania. When it can bring itself up to the point to ask for a monopoly of the trade of the State, and take within its bounds the making of all kinds of contracts, put its hands into the trust fund of the State, and abstract nine millions of dollars set apart by taxation to pay the public debt, it may as well ask for the surrender of the constitution of the State.

But while we stand back in utter amazement at the

enormity of their demands, how much more have we to be amazed at the conduct of the men who grant them! Can it be possible that the men who are the shareholders of these corporations can be sane? Have they ever calculated how far they could go in these usurpations, without coming in contact with organized popular force? Do they think that the people's treasury can be taken without opposition? Can violated law, and the grossest abuse of the great civil prerogatives of the multitude, be concealed? Can their voice be hushed into silence, and their wrongs not even produce a murmur? Are they blind, and cannot see? Are they deaf, and cannot hear? May the people's earnings be filched from their common treasury; and will they replace them without recourse over to the men who have unblushingly robbed them of the result of their toil and labor? Is it for a moment to be believed that these things can be continued with the popular acquiescence? Rome withstood corruption till it could stand it no longer; but it began resistance too late, and Rome fell.

Capital cannot permanently rule in a republic, at least.

A learned political economist has said, "That the intention of fixed capital is to increase the productive power of labor, as well as to enable the same number of laborers to perform a much greater quantity of

work." By "fixed capital" is here meant local and permanent capital, such as is employed in manufacturing, mining, &c., in contradistinction to circulating capital; but for our purposes, call it money in a general sense, all kinds of capital, stationary or floating.

How is capital now used to advance "the increase of the productive power of labor"? Does not its almost every act retard rather than increase this production, by taking from labor those privileges which lessen its wages, and sink it in the social scale; by monopolizing those branches of trade and industrial pursuits which should be left open for a free and generous competition among working men; and thus occupying the whole business mart, and driving from it individual enterprise?

Capital in this way doubles almost annually its stock in trade. But tell me for whose benefit does it accrue? Neither to labor, nor the country, nor the improvement of the public morals. It is raising higher and higher its gilded dome, but the reflection from that dome sends down no cheering ray upon the humble tenement by the wayside; no, not one.

Let capital "increase the productive power of labor," treat it with becoming consideration; cease its war of aggression; restrain its monopolizing propensities; pursue its legitimate course, and not make the effort to absorb the vital power of labor, which is necessary to

make it productive. The laboring man may not be the owner in fee of the mine, the mill, the workshop, or the farm; but without him each would stand still. He is, therefore, of some account, and of so much account that if chafed and provoked by continual and unreasonable encroachments upon those rights which belong to him, he may become a very unpleasant antagonist.

With him will ever be the sympathies of the public, because his class, in this country, makes that public. He seeks no strife with capital; he is acting purely on the defensive. He avoids the controversy, and if it must come, with capital will be the responsibility of the issue.

Let capital own the mine and the product of the mine. No sane man would pretend to divest its title to either. But let also the miner, for the five-fold value he adds, by his labor, to the product, receive a liberal consideration, for without this the mineral would lie imbedded in the earth, and be of no use or benefit to any one. The same rule which will apply to mines, in this particular, will, with equal force, apply to all other occupations where the raw material, by his dexterity, is transformed to the salable article. Labor is the machinery that moves as well as feeds the world; the direct and immediate cause of national and individual prosperity.

How senseless, as well as selfish, therefore, is the hackneyed expression, "we do not propose a partnership with labor." Let labor throw back the same reply, and it would be made the subject of ridicule. Both may with equal propriety use the expression; for one without the aid and co-operation of the other would be of but little account. There is a mighty partnership between the two, and if labor must sustain its share of the losses, so it should receive its share of the profits; and however strongly capital may repudiate the idea of partnership, the relationship exists in fact, and the extinction of it would be ruinous to both. It is the interest of capital to produce all it can, fairly and properly; and it is also the interest of labor to realize all it can from this production. Harmony should, therefore, characterize all the relations which necessarily exist between the two. Capital must not assume its right to the whole harvest; it must **SHARE** with labor.

The recent legislative grants in this State but too clearly indicate what capital is endeavoring to accomplish. Take two of the recent public enactments together, and to which I have already referred—the one conferring the contract power with individuals and companies to any extent and upon any subject; and the other taking the trust moneys of the State and making them a clean gift to an associated body of



men—and there is an example of bad legislation such as modern times do not furnish a parallel.

During the last twenty years of the legislation of Pennsylvania there have been the hardest blows given to individual industry and prosperity. When such demands have been acceded to, we are at a loss to know what the successful parties may not be emboldened to ask for hereafter. Not only do these corporate bodies ask for and receive these immense privileges, but they also readily obtain releases of obligations which have been previously coupled with their corporate grants.

As an example: the Pennsylvania Railroad Company, a few years ago, asked to be released from the payment of a tonnage tax, which they covenanted to pay the State, on the freight which passed over their road. This tax increased to a large sum—several hundred thousands of dollars. The company neglected to pay up, through various pretexts, and upon a sudden, without notice to the people of the State, a bill was gotten up and put through the legislature, releasing the company from the payment of that, or any like tax in the future!

Millions thus disposed of at a dash! And the reason why this tax was imposed was on account of the extraordinary privileges the State gave that company, with a subsidy at the same time of some two hundred miles of canal, at a mere nominal price, and which

had originally cost the tax-payers some ten millions of dollars.

Such profligate acts have encouraged half the incorporated concerns of the State to make their annual claims upon the legislature — some to get new grants, and others desire to be released from their obligations to the State. For ten years past the chief part of the legislation of the State has been for the benefit of incorporated companies, either in creation of new charters or multiplying the privileges of those already in existence.

The masses are not as jealous of their rights as they should be. They are beginning, however, to scrutinize more closely the conduct of those with whom they have intrusted their power. It is well they should. The laboring men of this country have too much at stake in it to remain indifferent to these public abuses of political power, and the sure and constant inroads which incorporated capital is making upon their rights. There is too much intelligence and knowledge afloat to allow such a conclusion. To remain inactive, they will be bound hand and foot, and capital will become triumphant.

Capital, under the guise of incorporation, is the worst political enemy opposed to the interests of the working men. It must not rule. Capital must be convinced that its past successful career, in legisla-

tive subsidies, shall not be the index of its future hopes and aspirations. It has already, on several occasions, come squarely into the political arena. It has succeeded. It has thus become emboldened. Its past victories, however, will not do for future estimates to be based upon. These conflicts have been with the legislature; a widely different element of power they will find when brought face to face with the millions. Insinuating arguments — solid arguments — will fail in effect at the great tribune of the people. Strange indeed would be that result, if capital should succeed in a political strife, where the implements it must necessarily use are the very elements it must contend with!

Adam Smith says that "it was not with gold or silver, but with labor, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased, and that its value to those who possess it, and who want to exchange it for some new production, is precisely equal to the quantity of labor which it can enable them to purchase or command. That the person who either acquires or succeeds to a great fortune does not necessarily acquire or succeed to any political power, either civil or military. His fortune may, perhaps, afford him the means of acquiring both, but the mere possession of that fortune does not necessarily convey to him either. The power which that possession immediately and directly conveys to him is the

power of purchasing a certain command over all the labor, or over all the produce of labor, which is then in the market. His fortune is greater or less precisely in proportion to the extent of this power, or to the quantity of men's labor, or, which is the same thing, of the produce of other men's labor, which it enables him to purchase or command."

If, therefore, capital is labor, the victory over labor, if possible, by capital, would be a victory over itself. Labor has produced all the capital of the world; neither gold nor silver had any part in it. Custom and the common consent of men furnish a scale by which values may be measured. Just as heat is measured by the thermometer, so do gold and silver indicate the market values of articles of commerce. What men call wealth is of no benefit to them, except that it will buy what labor has produced. Let labor suspend, and production will cease. In this event what would there be, pray, for gold or silver or precious stones to purchase? These, of themselves, could not sustain life; they are but the conceded and acknowledged representatives of value.

Every effort, therefore, of capital to subject labor only recoils back upon itself. The body may as well war with its own right hand, and upon which it relies for sustenance and strength, the general turn his park of artillery upon his own columns, or the engineer pour water

instead of coals into his furnace. It would indeed be suicide to embark in any such scheme, and utter folly and madness to contemplate it.

And yet in these days the man who "acquires or succeeds to a fortune" assumes that it brings in its train civil power, and confers additional political privileges, as well as a power to dictate to and command all who have not acquired a similar fortune. Money in the United States is the badge of nobility. The question is seldom asked of a new acquaintance, what is his character for morality, industry, sobriety, what his politics or religion? but, **How MUCH IS HE WORTH?** Not worth in the golden qualities which adorn the man, and the aggregate of which stamps the character of the nation, but in gold and silver dollars!

European imperialism decorates the man who is to be honored, and who is to receive the rank of nobility, with a star or flaunting ribbon. American Democracy often measures him in the scale of rank just in proportion to the number of dollars that he may have, without the least particle of regard to the mode or manner by which they may have been obtained.

But individual wealth in this country is sometimes found in the possession of very clever and unostentatious people. It is wealth in an incorporated form that is the most offensive. The very celerity with which exorbitant grants are conferred upon it is a rea-

son why it assumes that bold, high, and dictatorial position.

Accustomed to demand and receive compliance, wealth scouts the idea of equality. The atmosphere of labor is repulsive to its sensitive organs. There is no community of feeling between this moneyed aristocracy and labor. It speaks millions; labor, pennies only. It issues its decree and legislative bodies grant the subsidy; labor petitions, but stands back at a respectful distance. Labor modestly holds the political power, but is of a very forbearing and gentle nature; while the dollar, flushed with success, is circumscribed by no reasonable limits as to its demands or pretensions.

It is unfortunate for labor as well as capital that this state of things should exist, and we hope that the future may produce developments which may reconcile each to the other.

But so long as capital is indulged in all its legislative gifts, it will never concede an inch to labor. The general government has bestowed gratis upon chartered companies more broad acres of land than would make a territory exceeding that of France and England—two great empires. And Congress is still going on in the same prodigal waste of the national domain.

Many of the European governments give but a lease

of ninety-nine years in the grant of railroad charters, reserving, when the lease ends, all rights conferred under the charter, and become again in the end absolute owners of the roads, stations, &c. This is the case in France and Spain, and probably with other European governments.

How widely different is the American policy! With us, the company not only gets a perpetual charter, but Congress, where the government is the owner, grants to it the lands, in alternate sections on each side, confers the corporate power, and builds the road for the companies! The Pacific Railroad is an immense mæïlstrom, swallowing up half the national domain through which it passes, besides the money and credit of the government to the extent of hundreds of millions.

Does ancient or modern history furnish a like example of waste and profligacy? Among the empires which have had their rise and fall, is there a parallel case to the Pacific Railroad in the way of gifts and largesses? But of this hereafter.

These public lands should have been husbanded by the government, and those not occupied by actual settlers should have been sold to replenish the treasury and relieve the people of taxation.

No incorporated company should have had a solitary acre without paying its value. Why give them away to capitalists? Why give them to any one but the

hardy pioneer, who is willing to settle upon and occupy them for his home and that of his family?

So the State of Pennsylvania, following the bad example set by the government at Washington, has for the last twenty years been surrendering the public money and the people's prerogatives to incorporated capitalists, without stint or limit. A banquet merely has cost the people thousands of their well-earned money in the shape of taxes, and the absurdity of the demands of these companies does not seem to even occur to those intrusted with the public moneys and the public franchise.

Shall this state of things remain? Is there no hope—no prospect of change? It is a sin against high Heaven, and those inalienable rights of man which our Constitution and laws have declared that we possess. The silence of the voting people is almost a reproach, for, year succeeding year, they permit the practice of this bad legislation on the part of their servants, without holding them to account. They hold the power. Why do they not exercise it?

By what incident of birth, by what public service, by what rule of reason, are these associated and incorporated capitalists entitled to the public bounty? By what right are their names inscribed upon the public pension roll? Does the State owe them a dime? Have they put an additional dollar into the treasury



over and above the rates required of her poorest citizen?

The gates must be closed upon these political parasites. This is a necessity, if the State would retain its credit and the masses their HONOR! Capital must come down to the principle of equality; it must stand upon the square platform of labor. Because capitalists have a monopoly of power, they have no right to suppose they can hold it in opposition to the public will. They can hold it by the acquiescence of the multitude, but not in opposition to them. Their castles rests upon the shoulders of laboring men, and when they jostle by oppressive burdens the pillars must give way. The argument of vested rights is by no means a sheet anchor; and particularly when these same vested rights are the spoils of the toiling millions, received without merit, and granted for a paltry consideration.

Capital and labor may go hand in hand, in perfect accord and harmony, but not in the character of slave and master.

The road they travel must be free to both, or if toll is to be paid, it must be upon equal assessments. In this manner both may maintain their dignity of position, but in no other way.

American soil is the common inheritance of American freemen; and American law must be so framed that its broad panoply may cover ALL alike. Both

capital and labor should come flat down to a common level. This done, and there will be no collision; and if not done, precarious is the title upon which capital relies—a title no stronger, in my judgment, than the slender hair by which the glittering sword was suspended over the head of Damocles.

Labor, unprovoked, never did and never will make an effort at usurpation in this free country. It is contented with its situation. It asks no protection. The privileges which the laws have conferred upon it belong to it, and there is no power mighty enough to rob it of these rights with impunity. It cannot be supposed that the people of this country will close their eyes to the enormity of these vast legislative gifts. Let twenty laboring men in the ordinary walks of life petition Congress, or the legislature of this State, to make them a gift of a hundred dollars each, to buy the necessaries of life, and the proceeding would be denounced as absurd, and the men threatened with the strait jacket. Let the same number of capitalists ask an incorporation for a railroad, with a gift of a million, and with just the least outside argument, and how easily it is accomplished?

If this system is to be continued, does any sane man pretend that every personal right which the State confers on its citizens can be thus impaired or destroyed, without a resolute opposition? And an opposition, too, that

will not merely redress the wrong, but disable the power that produced it.

Capital is labor, and without labor there can be no capital. And this idea must be beaten into the heads of those who hold capital. If they will not understand, they must be made to understand. The lesson thus enforced will in the end not only benefit them, but also the State.

## CHAPTER XV.

NECESSITY OF PHYSICAL DEVELOPMENT AND OF MAKING  
LABOR ATTRACTIVE.

EDUCATION is a term to which custom and usage have given a narrow and cramped definition. While it means "instruction" in its broadest sense, we confine it generally to book knowledge, leaving out of our mind those schools of instruction located in the mines, on the farm, in the mechanic's shop, in the counting-room, and amidst the general industrial pursuits of life. When Pope said, "The proper study of mankind is man," he hit the nail on the head. The place to acquire this knowledge is by no means restricted to seminaries of learning. It is that daily intercourse and collision with the men and business affairs of the world which confer the available and useful education; confer that education which can be useful in the great struggle of life; and above all, that education which in the acquirement gives strength, power, and endurance to the physical frame, and thus brings along with it vigor of intellect and maturity of mind. The

faculty of reason and the full development of the muscle are in close proximity to each other, and the one cannot enjoy full and perfect maturity without the other.

Mr. Fowler, for whose opinions I have a great regard, because, being a self-made man, his ideas are necessarily practical instead of theoretical, says that "labor elevates and ennobles. Its influence on the mind is most beneficial. It begets a resolution and energy of character which infuses into all our feelings and conduct an indispensable element of success.

"Labor requires a perpetual grappling with difficulties and overcoming of obstacles, which inspire and cultivate a firmness and determination imparted by nothing else. Hence the youth brought up to do no work while young fails to cope with difficulties, but yields to them through life, and of course accomplishes little. This explains why rich youths make such poor scholars and shiftless ninnies. Rather my boy would be street scavenger, and my girls kitchen drudges, than brought up not to labor at all; for no kind or amount of work is as bad as either idleness or no labor. No man or woman can ever be above labor, without being above his nature and his God." (Page 237.)

Horace Greeley, another instance of a self-made man, in his "Recollections of a Busy Life,"—a work of very great interest, and of a remarkably clever character,

because fresh, vigorous, and racy, emanating from a clear brain and a mind familiar with the details of life, abounding in incident picked up by the wayside, as well as gleaned from books,—uses this language in speaking of the early culture of the youth:

“Too many make play a business when it should only be a diversion from business. The youth who has given his minority to study and play alternately, with no experience of work, is deplorably ill-fitted to grapple with the stern realities of responsible life. His muscles need hardening, his sinews have not been disciplined to the work that solicits them. As between a youth all work and one all play, though neither is commendable, the former is preferable.” (Page 118.)

Labor or active exercise is just as necessary for the full development of the physical faculties of the man as of the horse. The effect labor may have upon the instinct of the latter is not so important as the effect it most assuredly has upon the reason and intellectual capacity of the former.

The Roman gladiator, two thousand years ago, required the same hard system of training, and practised much the same rules of discipline, as his modern brother of the prize ring. And this training was to bring into full force and perfection every muscle and nerve of the human frame. And it is wonderful to

notice to what an amount of beating and exposure the human body in this trained condition is susceptible. It is a marvel that it can endure so great a punishment and still recuperate.

The pugilist would die under the infliction of the blows received before training that he is enabled to sustain afterwards.

The horse, on whose speed and bottom his owner stakes his fortune, must have every nerve and muscle worked to the highest point of available perfection before he is harnessed for the great trial upon the turf.

The severe practice of the youths preparatory to, and their wonderful exploits in, the Olympian games of Greece have been alike the poet's theme and the historian's honorable record. Nor was the competition at these games confined to the Grecian youth. Men of almost all ages and conditions were competitors for the prizes; the list embraced philosophers, poets, warriors, and statesmen, and the audience was the assembled nation.

In Homer's account of the funeral games at the siege of Troy, when it came to the turn of the wrestlers, he thus describes the encounter :

“ Achilles next before the Greeks displayed  
The prizes of the hardy wrestler's skill :  
The victor's prize, a tripod vast, fireproof,  
And at twelve oxen, by the Greeks appraised ;

And for the vanquished man, a female slave,  
Priced at four oxen, skilled in household work.  
Then rose and loudly to the Greeks proclaimed :  
' Stand forth, whoe'er this contest will essay ! '  
He said, and straight uprose the giant form  
Of Ajax Telamon, with him uprose  
Ulysses, skilled in every crafty wile,  
Girt with the belt, within the ring they stood,  
And each, with stalwart grasp, laid hold on each ;  
As stand two rafters of a lofty house,  
Each propping each, by skilful architect  
Designed the tempest's fury to withstand.  
Creaked their back bones beneath the tug and strain  
Of those strong arms, their sweat poured down like rain ;  
And bloody weals of livid purple hue  
Their sides and shoulders streaked, as sternly they  
For victory and the well-wrought tripod strove."

Ah! but it is refreshing to read of the manly achievements of a race of men who have passed from the earth forever, and when we come to the reflection that although there has been but one Homer to record them, we instinctively reindorse history in the assertion, " that there were giants in those days ! "

Compare these broad-chested, muscular Greeks, who hurled the javelin and drove their chariots around the beleaguered walls of Troy, with the carpet-knights of the nineteenth century !

It is not to be wondered that there has sprung up a race of strong-minded women. Is there not an



ample occasion for the reversal of the status of the sexes? Are women to blame for assuming the places of men, when there are no men to occupy them? Nature abhors a vacuum!

Men with the physical development of the Homeric age have almost disappeared. If they are to be found anywhere, it is in the ranks of labor. Effeminated by luxury and enervated by idleness, the man of to-day who does not labor has lost the physique of his vigorous ancestors, and seems not of the same species. He may fancy himself a man, but let him submit to triers, and the verdict will be against him with costs! The frame-work is there, but the superstructure is wanting.

A high civilization may have polished the manners and customs of modern times. So far we have abundant cause to rejoice that the feelings and affections of the masses are better toned. Cruelty has become subdued, at least so far as society at large and government are concerned; but the physical man has dwindled in his proportions, a consequence not necessary to civilization.

If Fowler's rule be correct, "that from four to six hours of vigorous muscular exercise is the least time compatible with first-rate health, and that the order of nature is to spend from six to ten hours daily in the open air," then we may reasonably account for the de-

cline of manhood. There should as a general thing be more exercise, more action, **MORE LABOR!**

I would not, if it were within my power, reverse the wheels of progress, and set the world back twenty-five centuries, because I believe there is a larger aggregate of happiness and prosperity with the present civilization than at any other period in the world's history; but the evident fact to be deplored is, that the physical man is far in the rear of the world's advance in other things. I speak of those who are both unaccustomed to labor and use proper exercise. This makes a large proportion of our population. Even those whose business occupation keep them within doors, weaken their constitution and shorten their lives very much for want of proper exercise.

But while man in this age is becoming physically degenerated for want of those invigorating exercises in the absence of labor, what is the condition of woman? We ask this because the future race of statesmen and warriors, as well as the hardy yeomanry of the land, will inherit her constitution.

That piercing, keen whirr of the old spinning wheel, and the throbbing beats of the old square-framed loom, as its lathe swung back and forth, notching down the inches of woof from thread into web — sounds common in my youth in almost every household, but they have almost entirely disappeared. And

yet forty years ago a house without its spinning wheel and loom was as rare as one now without its piano. The loom, to my eye, is a much prettier article of household goods than the piano. The one reminds you of health and industry, the other of high life below stairs, and lack of useful employment. Compare the music of both, and the music of the loom, to my ears, sounds the best.

Criticism, however, might decide that this taste arose from a bad, or no musical education whatever. But even such criticism would be to me a matter of very small moment. It is an old song with me, that of the spinning wheel and loom. For, till I had reached my sixteenth year, my apparel was the product of my mother's wheel and loom. And she is now living at the advanced age of ninety-five years, with all her faculties in a good state of preservation. It was a life of industry and labor, of good habits and a conscience void of offence, that lengthened out this remarkable lease.

Born before the Declaration of Independence, a witness of the birth, rise, progress, and success of a great nation, of a population increasing from three to forty millions, and of a government rising from an inferior to one of the first powers on earth !

Considering all this progress during a single lifetime, and it seems more like a fairy tale than stern and absolute reality.

But a half century ago and there was no cause or occasion for "strong-minded women!" Those were days when men worked, and women worked, and children worked, and there were not idle persons enough to have made up an audience, if there had been a "strong-minded woman" upon the circuit. Days when doctors' and apothecaries' bills were small items, and patent medicines had not yet posted themselves upon board fences and dilapidated buildings, upon jutting precipices and prison doors.

"Provide that labor, now repulsive, shall be attractive," says Horace Greeley. He might well have added also respectable. Make labor attractive, respectable, and honorable, and a grand reformation will have been accomplished. Is this to be? Is it a part of that unaccomplished destiny in reserve for labor, that it shall be made attractive—a result surely compatible with free institutions and republican government? The difficulty of making labor honorable in despotic governments should not prevent it here. Under the limited monarchy of Great Britain, laboring men have found their way into Parliament. Recent reforms in that kingdom have enabled the small householder and tenant to approach the polls. Suffrage has been very largely increased.

The French empire is undergoing a rapid change, and a republic is born, and now lies in its bloody cradle,

which shall give to France the covenant of universal suffrage. In this particular France, with all her revolution and bloodshed, is in advance of Great Britain. The empire had dwarfed the manhood of France. Her people were children, but now they are born again, and with strong arms they are fighting their way to citizenship. The day will come, when in the *universal republic*, labor will be dignified and respected, and every man will have the right of suffrage.

American democracy is daily throwing bomb-shells into the trans-Atlantic camps.

American principles are fast making headway into European cabinets and legislative chambers. It is but the beginning of the end. While the Old World monarchies—relenting or dying—are giving place to popular inroads, and the moving cause of laboring men there is upward and onward, there should be a corresponding advance in this country.

The people of Germany and Italy are advocating with England and France the question of suffrage. The people of America, in this particular, set the precedent. They are boldly and successfully following it up abroad. These innovations do not voluntarily proceed from crowned heads.

Labor is the mainspring, and laboring men in the United States have unfurled the dazzling flag of equality in everything. The breeze has caught up its

folds, and Europe to-day is under its shade; it is an escutcheon of laboring man as well as an ensign of hope. But labor is to be made HONORABLE. Let this be so and it will be "attractive."

And how is it to be made honorable? If it be "repulsive," how is it to be made "attractive"? Not by a return to the primitive and simple habits of our ancestors. If this were practicable, the problem would be solved. But it is in vain to anticipate such an event. Progress has elevated the hopes and expectations even of the laboring classes to so great an extent in this country, that they would hardly be willing to come down to the customs and habits of Revolutionary days.

Not by an appeal to the rich and affluent of the country. Among those, of course, there are and ever will be honorable exceptions. But money begets pride, and insolence is also the offspring of money. And the rich, instead of furnishing an example of economy and frugality, and thus assimilating themselves to the laboring masses in manners and deportment compatible with republican institutions, seem to be impelled by a desire to widen the space between themselves and those who make the country, by industrial occupations, what it is in wealth and political fame.

During the late rebellion, as one of the general

consequences of war, there sprang up a new grade in social life, called shoddy aristocracy. They were a class of adventurers and camp speculators, who sold counterfeit goods as genuine articles to the soldiers at high prices, and who took every possible advantage of the government, making it a subject of boast and exultation.

These camp-followers and hucksters, by disreputable practices, became rich, and as they "waxed fat" they must needs "kick up their heels" in high life. Poor representatives of the ideas and proprieties which belong to real respectability. Ignorance and dollars are but poorly yoked, and they are miserably calculated to make progress, either in the observance of good manners, or in setting examples worthy of the imitation of others—I will not say their inferiors, for I should not know where to look for them. The clown who becomes suddenly rich cannot get rid of his clownish propensities. The shirt of Nessis was a tight fit.

We cannot, therefore, say that shoddy will do any act which, in the least degree, will add respectability to labor, nor has labor any favors to ask of it!

Nor can labor expect aid from that other worthless and supernumerary class of people, who are by far too numerous for the welfare of any country, civilized or barbarous, whose type swarms in numbers upon the streets of our great cities, and whose only occupation is in patronizing the saloons, places of amusement, and

tailor shops — men who measure man by the cut of his coat and the length of his purse, without the least regard for the manner and practices by which that purse may have become filled. To this class of human cattle, in human trousers, laboring industrious men are not to look for precept nor example.

Labor cannot afford to disgrace itself by condescending to terms of intimacy with these moving incumbrances upon the earth. For infinitely higher in moral worth and political consequence is the scavenger who sweeps the streets of the great metropolis, that those walking nonentities may not soil the polish of their boots, bought possibly from ill-gotten gains, false credit, or the remnant of an inheritance from more worthy progenitors. This is a class of creatures to whom the world is not indebted for a clever act, and whose conduct never has, nor ever will, furnish a precedent worthy to be followed.

Men who would prefer death in the alms-house or prison to soiling their delicate hands with ignoble labor! Certainly not to these can laboring men look for comfort or instruction. As well may the follower of Mahommed lay down a rule of Christian worship, or the life and examples of the convicted felon furnish the moral guide for the observance of enlightened man.

Labor may be made honorable and attractive



through the inherent virtues which alone are matured and perfected by a life devoted to industry. These virtues can only affiliate with those of a kindred character, and must consequently hold vice and folly in contempt. Idleness and profligacy, intemperance and vice, practised by the high-born and the rich, must be despised instead of palliated.

The spirit of the nation can be properly moulded by the great multitude who earn their living by the sweat of their brow. It is in their power to determine the social status of labor. It is for them to lead, not to follow; to lay down the rule, and fix the standard of respectability. It is but for them to resolve and there is a potency in it which cannot be resisted, because it is the pulsation of the great heart of the great majority.

And there are a thousand ways in which this influence may be exerted. Washington was at his plough when he received the official notification of his presidential election. He was but repeating history in the person of Cincinnatus. And yet if a Broadway dandy had been there, he would have been shocked at the disgustingly vulgar employment of Mr. Washington!

He might have nodded to him: it is barely possible that he would have unbended his dignified person, but we have no good reason to think that he would have

tolerated the grasp of that hard hand. It had been on the plough-handle ; it had become defiled !

Laboring men, by respecting each other, will insure the respect of the whole community. The lesson to be learned in this intercourse will in return furnish instruction for others.

But laboring men have within themselves a power which will compel a recognition that their occupation is, if not attractive, at least honorable. This power is the ballot. It is irresistible. This they have, and this they are at liberty to use.

I have, in pages back, discouraged the idea of laboring men becoming political managers. It would detract from their usefulness, and be a means of converting a peaceful, quiet, and contented life into one of turmoil and excitement, and in many cases into a life of dissipation. But while I would discard the political life as one failing to better or improve the condition of the laboring man, I would nevertheless have him let the State know that there is a political power that can be made available ; that can produce, if its energies are necessarily called into the political field, such a result as is not now generally conceded. And while capital is constantly making political demonstrations, is there any good reason why labor should not do the same ? But, independent of any action of the kind on the part of capital, labor should go upon the roll of

honor, and laboring men will have sooner or later to occupy high political positions.

They will be obliged to do this in self-defence, or they cannot make the idle and dissolute believe that they actually do hold the political power of the country. All are required to make personal sacrifices for the benefit of the body politic; and that person who is in the pursuit of any branch of remunerative industry will make a great sacrifice if he abandons it either from choice or necessity for the purposes of political life. No industrious, sober, and moral man will better his condition by becoming a politician.

So small a proportion of those who do make politics their business succeed, that there is but little encouragement presented. So that, as a general rule, I would advise the laboring man to let them alone.

But the laboring man may well look to the qualifications, habits, and propensities of those who do present themselves for political place, without actually entering the arena himself. And this becomes upon his part an absolute and indispensable duty. Not to strive for political position so much as to check those who do strive for success, and who are unworthy of the position they seek. At all times this much should be the aim of laboring men.

Of late years political pursuits have become so demoralizing, that he who enters the ring and would ex-

pect to come out unscathed, must calculate on starting with a fortune, and ending, if he be a man of honor and integrity, in poverty. He must expect, too, among the other surrounding calamities, the shipwreck of his private character.

There is such a thing as pecuniary political success, but the roads that lead to it are not those upon which the man of probity and self-respect would travel.

## CHAPTER XVI.

## TARIFF LAWS AS AFFECTING LABOR.

IN a hasty review of some ideas suggested, some pages back, I find an allusion merely to the tariff question. As this subject is so intimately connected with labor, I am not disposed to pass over it in so summary a manner. I find that I spoke of it merely as an abstract question, and favoring the idea as one of revenue. Revenue I understand to mean the result from the imposition of the least amount of duties upon articles of importation from foreign countries that may be sufficient to defray the ordinary expenses of government.

And if the nations generally with whom we have our commercial relations would be governed by the same rule, there can be no question but that it would be the best policy to pursue. I find it difficult to relieve my mind of an early impression, that it is wrong to build up any one branch of industry at the sacrifice or deterioration of another; such as must inevitably be the case where a discrimination is observed in the imposition of taxes upon a particular class of articles over that of another. An equal tax

on all articles would be different. But so long as the different nations and peoples with whom we deal will not come to a uniform understanding, there can be no sound reason why we should become an exception to a general rule.

Were all the ports of the world to be thrown open to free commerce and trade, and the toll-gates of the sea to be unlocked, there might be found a better and stronger argument in favor of free trade. But the millennium is not so near at hand. And, besides, people generally prefer to pay taxes indirectly than to pay them directly; just as improvident persons will buy more and at a larger price upon credit than when required to pay the cash. It is a postponement of the day of reckoning, and, like Micawber, we are ever under the expectation "that something will turn up" which will improve our condition and multiply our means.

If I pay indirectly a tax of five dollars on the cloth for my coat of foreign fabric, or, which is the same thing, if the price be enhanced that amount over a domestic fabric by imposing the five-dollar tax on the imported cloth, I pay it much more readily than I would pay the tax-gatherer half that sum. Because in the one case I only have a vague idea that some part of my money goes to the support of government; but in the other the collector is before me with his warrant in his hand. I see him, and I see my

name upon the tax-book, and just so much as the claim is, so much is my purse depleted. Of all this I am very sensible, while by the indirect process it may go in less sums, but the demand is more frequent. The collector comes once a year, but the pass-book goes to the shop almost every day in the week.

But I should very reluctantly abandon the idea of a small tariff upon the goods of other nations, seeking a market here, under our protective policy, if this tariff did not come in direct conflict with the prosperity of the laboring man.

The old argument of Mr. Clay, which in its time had much force, was, that the manufacturers of the country needed protective tariff laws, because they were comparatively new, and were unable to compete with the older establishments of Europe. This argument has not the same force now as in the days of the great commoner. Our manufacturers have had years of experience, and the benefits of modern inventions and improvements, and with the exception of the price of wages they ought to be able to compete with the civilized world. If they cannot, the fault is with them.

But, then, we must bear in mind, that the English manufacturer is content if he make his fortune in a lifetime; in the United States, if not done in half a dozen years, he is considered a failure. Everything with us pertains more to hot-house or forced growth.

I am decidedly in favor of such a tariff, high or low, as will best meet the wants and necessities of the laboring, producing classes of this country; because the welfare of this class reaches the largest, and also the most meritorious number. Therefore a discriminating duty upon such articles as our own people produce, and upon those articles which enter largely into their consumption, is eminently right and proper. This is protection to labor, and it is about the only thing in this country which needs protection. The labor part of the protective argument has all the force it had fifty years ago, but that relating to manufacturers has not.

The question of labor and the interests of the producing classes is one of vast moment. It is paramount to all others. Labor, to be attractive and honorable, requires discriminating legislation. That discrimination heretofore used in favor of capital should be reversed, and labor should have its chance.

But in adjusting the scale of duties so that protection may fall in the right direction, comes in the vexed question. If the future is in this particular to be judged by the past, all the protection which it is claimed should belong to labor will go on flowing in a different channel, or at least the greater part of it. Capital is ever arguing its cause in reference to tariff upon the ground of its benefits to labor. The argument is



plausible. They say, "Take care of us, and we will take care of our men." The old argument revamped, "that if we take care of the rich, the rich will take care of the poor." Not so. Let the government take care of the poor, and the rich take care of themselves.

All have noticed, who have paid any attention to the subject, that when high protective laws have been passed by Congress under the pressure that it was to be for the especial benefit of labor, the price of manufactured goods within the range of such laws has uniformly advanced, but labor has generally remained in the same notch. Labor furnished the argument, but capital reaped the harvest. Very much in character of the two New England towns: the people of the one claimed that they did the fighting in one of the Revolutionary skirmishes, but conceded that the people of the other "furnished the ground."

But I am willing to concede that the proprietors of the iron mills and the mines have acted with more liberality towards their employés, under tariff laws, than the proprietors of the cotton and woollen mills. Every obstacle in the way of liberal wages should be removed, compatible, of course, with the general welfare. And if it be necessary to lay a tax on articles of foreign importation, which shall amount to a total prohibition of such articles, let it be done if such a result can be thereby attained. But such legislation should be

confined to those articles manufactured abroad, or natural productions which come in direct competition with those we make ourselves, or the production of our own soil.

The theory of high taxation upon goods of foreign nations, and necessities of life, which we do not produce, can not be sustained by sound argument. The free list of those articles which enter into the general consumption of all classes should be enlarged.

Tea, coffee, sugar, salt, and spices, and the coarser articles of cloth used for every-day wear by the laboring classes, should come free, or nearly so. It presents a question which has nothing to do with revenue. It is making a provision for labor. Capital must not pretend that in its protection labor is also protected. The position is false. I assert that the protection of capital, as heretofore managed, has not been protection to labor.

Did those who represent capital comply with their engagements to include the interests of laboring men in the passage of tariff laws, this would be well. But do they?

To illustrate: Suppose the manufacturer of a certain kind of woollen cloth receives an advance of a dollar per yard, in consequence of a tariff of a dollar on the same kind of cloth from abroad. Into whose pocket does the dollar go? It may be said that this enables the manufacturer to raise the wages of the

men in his employ. This is the fact. If he gives one-fourth of this advance in the price of his goods to the men in his employ, he will be under the impression that he is the very prince of liberality; but there are the remaining three-fourths. Where do they go? Ask the consumer?

And thus Congress, from time to time, has passed protective tariff laws, actually under the impression that a favor was conferred upon labor. So it was in a very limited, nay, a very remote degree; capital, however, got the oyster, and labor the shell.

Let us have that discrimination in the revenue laws which shall cast the mantle of protection upon those who need it, and who are entitled to protection. This kind of protection is worthy of the efforts of statesmen. It is the true policy of this country, and the one that will ultimately prevail.

Let the free list which embraces the necessities of life be doubled or trebled; let those luxuries which alone concern those who can indulge in them pay roundly on the score of taxation, and let laboring men, through the power of co-operation, become the lessees or owners of manufactories and mines; and in this way protection upon the great staples which we make and produce will really mean something. It will not be a sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.

Let any one carefully examine the subjoined table,

taken from the present tariff law, and he must be convinced of two things beyond all dispute. Firstly, that the law discriminates largely in favor of the rich and against the poor; and in the second place, of the absolute folly of adopting specific in place of ad valorem duties:

#### THE RICH MAN'S TARIFF.

On gold and silver chains.....	25 per cent.
Diamonds.....	25 per cent.
Mahogany wood.....	Free.
Jewelry.....	25 per cent.
Laces.....	35 per cent.
Pearls.....	Free.
Rubies.....	10 per cent.
Gold rings.....	25 per cent.
Corals.....	Free.
Cameos.....	10 per cent.
Oil paintings.....	10 per cent.
Marble statuary.....	10 per cent.

#### THE POOR MAN'S TARIFF.

On salt.....	155 per cent.
Outlery.....	50 per cent.
Shoes.....	35 per cent.
Iron nails.....	50 per cent.
Coal.....	30 per cent.
Spades and shovels.....	45 per cent.
Blankets.....	55@60 per cent.
Sole leather.....	35 per cent.
Glassware.....	40 per cent.
Clothing.....	60@65 per cent.
Flannels.....	50@85 per cent.
Iron fabrics.....	55@65 per cent.

Section 21 of the law provides that the duties shall be as follows :

- On teas of all kinds, fifteen cents a pound.
- On coffees of all kinds, three cents a pound.
- On all molasses, five cents a gallon.
- On chocolate, seven cents a pound.

Cheap teas, cheap coffees, cheap molasses, and cheap chocolates are taxed precisely as much as dearer and higher-priced articles. A pound of tea costing \$2 is taxed only half as much as two dollars' worth of inferior tea at half the price. The tariff is based upon a system of wholly discarding value as an element of taxation and putting it upon quantity and bulk.

It is not refreshing to contemplate, as the results of high protective laws, the immense accumulation of wealth of individual capitalists and incorporated companies. In this we do not find the real and substantial wealth of the nation. It is too much confined. It is in drills and rows ; we would prefer to see it thrown broadcast. This country cannot thrive by wealth thus limited—the million must be made comfortable, and then wealth is a public not a private blessing.

I grant that there should be heavy duties imposed upon those great staples with which other countries are flooding our markets, and which our own soil and the labor of our own people can supply. As the masses are engaged in the production of these articles,

and their support in a great measure is dependent upon their production, they should be protected well and thoroughly against foreign competition; but, alas! the mode and manner of doing this of late years has not come up to the public expectation. The promise made turned out like the apples of the Dead Sea—ashes.

I mean the promise which capital made to labor—to increase its wages, to dignify its character, and to make it honorable. If labor is to be protected, I say, amen; if capital, I say it does not need it, unless that capital is labor.

I clip the following extract from a California paper. It conveys in plain language what co-operative measures can do, and how capital really may be represented by laboring men:

“CO-OPERATION AMONG SAN FRANCISCO FOUNDRY MEN.—Six months ago the employés of the Miners’ Foundry of San Francisco entered into a plan by which they were to furnish all the material and do the work, paying to the owners of the shops a certain percentage as rent and as compensation for superintendence. Each workman leaves his first month’s labor as capital stock, and allows to be added to the same fund all his subsequent earnings except current wages. The first investment was \$1,826, and since then \$1,763 have been added to it—the workmen meantime taking out for themselves the highest current wages. This increase of nearly 100 per cent. to the capital stock could be di-

vided by a vote of the workmen, but will be left in its present profitable investment. The increase of profits arises from the increased efficiency of the laborers, who have risen from the position of hirelings to that of proprietors."

Here we find the true idea, both as to the means of putting labor into a position where protective laws will not only reach, but make it honorable. *Change the condition of the man from the "Hireling to the Proprietor."*

The laboring man has not only the power within his reach, and the means at his command, to protect himself against the bad effects of revenue laws, but to shape them at his will. His instruments are the ballot and co-operation. These are very powerful elements—a sword with two edges.

So far as regards a protective tariff, when so applied and administered as to amount to protection, it is all very proper. Its effect upon the San Francisco Iron Foundry comes up to our idea of the real object and design of protection. Here the mysterious cloud which generally hangs over manufacturing establishments is removed, and we can see and realize that protection is accomplished. Its benefits are conferred upon those very persons who of all others are entitled to its privileges and rewards. Not protection to one man, who is to take care of the multitude; but protection direct to the multitude. The very term protection signifies that

some one is to receive special favors, or be guarded against injury. And its influences can be secured directly much better than by proxy.

To understand this subject better, let us retrace history, and examine into the origin of tariffs, see the cause of their origin, and what purpose they were designed to effect ?

Tariff is a tax levied by a nation upon the respective goods of another nation entering its ports and markets for sale or exchange. Originally it was designed to raise money for the purposes of defraying the expenses of government.

It is an easier and more popular way of filling the national treasury than by direct taxation. It goes back to the early ages ; it is another name for tribute money — not precisely a tax to superior sovereignty, but a tax for privilege ; the privilege of seeking a market in a foreign country.

The ancient as well as modern practice of imposing this tax on articles of commerce, seems to have arisen from the same motive ; which was to put just so much tax upon the imported article as it would bear, and yet not exclude it from the market. I speak of those articles of commerce in the production of which there is no home competition. The fact of there being a home competition is the cause of presenting, in addition to revenue, the question of protection. And



in all well-regulated governments, the amount of taxes upon the goods and merchandise of other countries entering its ports must depend upon the condition and development of the home establishment and the progress of the arts and sciences, trades and industrial pursuits of its people.

This view gives rise to the necessity of every nation to look first to the condition and prosperity of its own people. It is a moral as well as political consideration. And if they are engaged in the production of the same article which seeks a sale in their own markets from abroad, or if they have less dexterity and skill in their manufacture, or if there are other difficulties in their way, then very properly comes in the necessity of protective laws.

Every enlightened nation will take a strong stand in favor of protecting and taking especial care of its own people. And the products of their skill and industry will ever have a preference in the home market. This is just and right, and involves that great natural question of self defence.

I recently read the account of a national jubilee held at Philadelphia soon after the close of the war of the Revolution, and at a time when the public mind was being agitated upon the subject of protecting American manufactures; upon one of the banners carried in the procession was the inscription, "HOME-BREWED IS THE BEST."

"Charity begins at home," is an old adage, and there is great force in the argument that OUR OWN PEOPLE should be protected under the provision of our revenue laws. But there comes up the great and momentous question, "WHO ARE OUR OWN PEOPLE?" What is protection? "Security from injury; defence." Protection, when applied to tariff laws, means preventing the merchants and dealers of other countries from forcing their goods and wares upon us to the injury of our own people, and thus depriving them of some of those natural rights which men everywhere inherit, and are appurtenant to the soil that they own or occupy; as well as depriving her own people of those civil rights which the State should ever guarantee to its own citizens or subjects.

It is not the strong who require defence; it is not money that requires battlement walls, erected at the sacrifice of the immunities of the multitude. It has the means of entrenching its own castle. It is the helpless who require the strong arm of legislative protection, or who desire to be let alone—a compromise they would accept if they cannot have just and equal laws. The laboring men want laws which do not discriminate against them.

The true spirit of protective laws is that the masses shall receive their benefit. In the absence of this it is

sheer sophistry, nay more, a direct insult, to pretend that protection to wealth necessarily includes the amelioration of the condition of the poor !

When the great body of the people receive the benefits of protection, then let tariffs be laid which will amount to prohibition ; stop importation absolutely, because the people, who are the producers as well as consumers, will receive the benefits and advantages arising from it. But when capital is the only recipient of protective laws, there cannot be substantial reasons for such protection.

I am fully aware of that old, worn-out, and senseless pretext, the song of incorporated wealth for the last fifty years, " that the protection of capital is the protection of labor ; " but I have examined in vain to see the exemplification of it. There may be, sometimes, a contingent, remote, and uncertain benefit which reaches labor : but it is a glimmer only ; a few discernible borealis streaks that scarcely illumine the working man's heaven !

Pennsylvania has generally favored high tariffs. It is because her great mineral staples of coal and iron, which enter so largely into her wealth, seemed to demand it. The same reason influenced the New England States as to their manufactories ; while the Northwest, being chiefly consumers of the products of the Middle and Eastern States, were influenced to buy of

those who would sell the cheapest, without regard to the place of production, and thus leaning more towards free trade. A conclusion natural enough for the Western people to adopt, were not the people of the Middle and Eastern States parties to the same general government compact with themselves, the members of one common family, and having one common destiny, and therefore entitled to a little more consideration than outsiders merely. But this is remarkably selfish, as is fully exhibited in the conduct of States, as well as individuals.

Within the iron and coal districts there are few indeed who would favor the notion of free trade, because almost every business man and working man, directly or indirectly, is interested in the development and production of these articles. So that protection comes squarely home to us.

In the anthracite coal trade alone there may be a hundred thousand working men engaged in the mining, preparing, and transmission to market. And thus are furnished a hundred thousand strong arguments in favor of a judicious protective tariff on the article. And although there is no reasonable apprehension that foreign coal can ever come in competition with the anthracite or bituminous fields of Pennsylvania, still the production and trade enter so largely into the iron interests, which may be and are seriously

affected by foreign competition, that the coal and iron interests are in fact identical as to protective laws.

The vast number of people, therefore, connected with these two great interests, and agreeing in the one opinion as to protection, give but one general tone to the public voice. And really and truly, this great number of people, who bring into the ranks of labor so great a portion of the population of the State, are the class which is entitled to protection. And this embraces both the owners of the mines and mills, and both are the meritorious objects of such laws. But not one class to the exclusion of the other.

But the serious difficulty in legislation is to provide for the wages of labor under revenue laws. It is true that the article produced or manufactured is protected against foreign competition. The price of the article, however, in the market does not often establish the price of the labor bestowed upon it; so that the effect is, that the increase of market values upon the result of labor, made positive and certain by law, does not reach directly the producing cause. To reach labor directly there must be some different mode of legislation than that heretofore pursued, or laboring men must necessarily resort to co-operation, and become owners or lessees instead of remaining merely hirelings. The matter might be much improved by legislation independent of co-operation; but this

would involve a change of the general character of the representative — a remedy which the working men of the country have at hand, and which sooner or later they must have occasion to employ.

Capital has so long ruled and governed the country, that the law-makers seldom cast their eye in any other direction, or give an ear to the hewers of wood and drawers of water!

It is possible that a change in this particular, growing out of the popular disgust of the political intrigues and secret management of men in high places, and common with the cabinets and legislative chambers of the nations, may be effected in the United States. It is to be hoped that change will come. And it certainly will, whenever the representative is made to know and feel that the great idea of this republic is labor, and that upon its solid features his prosperity, as well as the government of which he is an official particle, must wholly and totally stand. And the man in power who has not the comprehension to take in this idea, or having the intellect to do so, refuses, let him give place to some one better qualified.

It is the "people" who are entitled to protection, and if Congress is unable or will not discriminate, then the reform must come through co-operation, if the laboring masses would avail themselves of it.

The San Francisco iron foundry men have already

furnished the key to the difficulty under the present system of imperfect legislation. They are the laboring employés of the establishment. They change their position: they become lessees, virtually owners. They pay the proprietors rent; the manufactured product of the furnace is theirs.

PROTECTION reaches them, not in the capacity of laborers, but as proprietors of the works so leased, and owners of the product. The same plan of operations will apply to coal mines, to iron mines, to furnaces, and foundries, and rolling mills. An effort is to be made to accomplish all this, and it is feasible. I will venture the assertion that there is not an efficient foreman or manager in coal or iron operations that has not arisen from the ranks. Some of the largest and most wealthy proprietors of iron works upon the Lehigh, in this State, were day laborers.

I cite particularly the case of DAVID THOMAS, who came to this country some thirty years since, as a manager only upon a small salary, but who is now one of the most wealthy men of the State. And why? Because he changed his position from laborer, where protection reached him indirectly, and probably not at all, to that of owner or lessee, where he received all its benefits. Combined labor has the power to bring itself within the reach of protective tariff laws. Isolated, it must remain out in the cold. Co-operative measures,

to be brought within the range of a protective tariff, will not be accomplished without an effort. Generally there is no hostility between owner and employé. At least there is no reason why there should be. Both are influenced by the same motive of gain. The laborer will work for the man who will pay him the best wages. The owner will lease to the tenant from whom he will derive the most rent.

And any sensible owner of mines would prefer practical laboring men as lessees to mere speculators, or people whose lives have been spent in other occupations. A co-operative band, if they would set themselves about it, could start and conduct a coal operation with the same success as a store, a foundry, or a mill. If laboring men would place themselves directly within the reach of protective tariffs, they must own, if not the fee to the mines and manufactories, at least their product. As owners or lessees those laws will benefit them, but as mere drudges in the employment of owners or lessees they are without the pale of protection.

The man who has the judgment and skill to manage and conduct the affairs of others prosperously, as a general rule, can successfully conduct his own. I am aware that there are exceptions; so there are to all rules. Some men are born captains, while others are lieutenants only.



I have known excellent business men in the capacity of subalterns, who signally failed the moment they became chiefs. Some of Napoleon's best marshals could not manœuvre a division upon the field, when not under the eye and immediate orders of their great captain, and yet they were indispensable in their place.

Take a mine where there are two hundred men employed, and among them are at least twenty who have the judgment and capacity to act as managers. Let these same twenty men, and the remaining one hundred and eighty, form a co-operative league; adopt the proper articles of association, become lessees of the mine, and in this way change their position from that of slave to master, and they will very soon realize the fact that protection will throw more money into their common till than the aggregate of all their labor. But as common laborers protection may reach them, but it will be in such a way, and its benefits will be so exceedingly small, as to be scarcely appreciable.

In this connection I speak of tariff laws as they now exist, and which apply to articles of merchandise, but which do not reach labor directly; and I make the broad assertion, that out of one dollar put on under the name of protection, labor does not get more than a fifth part of it; capital gets the benefit of the remaining four-fifths.

If labor is willing to accept this secondary and

humiliating situation, it lacks that courage and stamina which really belong to it. And thus comes in with double force the argument in favor of co-operative measures. Individuality is merged in the collective body, and that element, which was comparatively weak in its isolated condition, becomes strong in the unity of a great number.

So that after all that may be said, we fall back upon the theory of co-operation. This is the star of laboring men, and if they would improve their condition, they must pursue this with unfaltering zeal; it is a point short of which they may not halt. They are literally in the desert, and this land of promise is before them. It must be reached. And though it take forty years they must move steadily on, for "the land flowing with milk and honey," if not now visible, assuredly shall be. Without co-operation labor has but the shadow only; the substance is in the strong box of capital.

That much agitated question between the propriety of *specific* and *ad valorem* duties, and which at one time in the history of this country fairly convulsed the public mind, has of late years ceased to be of much moment. The country has survived as well as prospered under the reign of each of these theories.

In the Presidential campaigns from 1836 to 1848, judging from the high state of political excite-

ment which this question involved, an uninformed person would have come to the conclusion that the issue really was one which carried with it the prosperity or utter ruin of the country. Days which gave rise to the well-known expressions of "Perish commerce! perish credit!" It could hardly be seriously contended now that the safety of the American republic depended upon the idea whether a ton of imported pig iron should be assessed with a duty of \$5.00 specific, or with an ad valorem duty of twenty per cent.

But revenue and tax laws should never be introduced into the political conflicts of any country, and it is well for the interests of our own that they have ceased to be political issues. In the last three Presidential elections tariff has scarcely been mentioned. It is to be hoped there may not be a repetition in the future.

I have ever maintained, and in a representative capacity have ever voted for, the principle of ad valorem duties. These were my views when politics ruled the question; they are now when politics have nothing to do with it.

The whole system of State and municipal taxation should be based upon values alone. It would be a strange idea to argue that an acre of land adjacent to a city, worth twenty thousand dollars, should pay the same amount of tax as an acre of wild and unseated land upon the mountain, worth five dollars.

What we understand by the word *specific*, as applied to revenue laws, is a uniform fixed standard of value, without regard to the change and fluctuation of trade which are constantly occurring; *ad valorem* is the real actual value of the article when it passes into the market. This may be ascertained from the invoiced price, or the price at its destination—a matter not very material. An argument against this is, that there will always be abuses in ascertaining the actual value from the invoiced price; an argument in which there is some substance undoubtedly. But when we reflect upon the great impropriety that a horse imported from Canada, valued at a hundred dollars, should be assessed with the same duty as a horse valued at one thousand dollars, we cannot reasonably conclude that the specific theory is correct. We must conclude that one ought to pay just ten times the amount of tax of the other.

Take another example: a ton of pig iron, invoiced at Liverpool at a valuation of \$30.00, may pay a specific tax on importation of \$5.00. If the scarcity of the article at home, or the extraordinary demand for it here, doubles that value, should not the duty be doubled? Under the *ad valorem* principle this can be done, but it cannot under the specific. We cannot conceive of the propriety of a rule of law requiring a tax to-day of \$5.00 upon a ton of imported iron and

on the same article to-morrow of \$10.00. It strikes the mind as being unreasonable as well as unjust in its application to the parties dealing in it.

Under this state of facts, we may well conceive why politicians of the country made the tariff a political hobby-horse, but as the poor jade has become worn out, we are the last who would desire to see him again entered upon the track.

The taxes and revenue are matters of such vital interest both to the government and people, that they should be discussed and acted upon, free from the influences of selfish men. Sound reason and discriminating argument should be the instruments in the adjustment of revenue laws. It is a matter of congratulation in this country, that politics and tariffs are no longer in juxtaposition.

But it is not my object so much to speak of the details of revenue laws as of the protective feature. And the inclination of my mind has always been, and so have my votes shown in the State and National legislatures, that the ad-valorem principle was correct. But while I have thus thought and voted, I have at the same time been but too sensible that somehow capital was getting the lion's share of the spoils. Labor may be indirectly benefited in cheapening those necessities of life which enter largely into the general consumption, but the laboring man is entitled to more than this.

His wages should be increased through protection. The capitalist is a consumer as well as the man he employs, and yet the capitalist receives direct benefit from protective laws, in the increase of the commodity he produces. He may say the working man does, too, in the advance of the price of wages. Were this the fact, then there would be no real cause of complaint; but such is not the fact. The owner of the mill or the mine, through protection, becomes rich, but we see but little improvement in the condition of the laboring man.

There seem to be more instances of individual prosperity among the mine laborers than we find in the manufactories. So we conclude that the influences of high tariffs reach the employes of the mine with more certainty than the mill. The instances of miners becoming owners of valuable real estate in the coal region are not rare. There are by no means so many evidences of thrift and the accumulation of property with the laboring men of the cotton, woollen, and iron manufactories. With the men of the mines the cases of success are fifty per cent. larger than in other branches of industry. At least, such is our conclusion after a pretty careful examination of the subject.

But employes, through co-operation, must become lessees or owners, and then they come within the direct influence of protective laws. That old, threadbare,

and worn-out argument, that labor is protected through the protection of capital, has no force nor power in it. The theory is false — the idea absurd. Labor, to be protected, must have direct laws bearing upon it. Second-hand or contingent relief does not meet the case. In the absence of co-operation there is more difficulty in getting at the matter; but willing minds, with legislative power in their hands, might adjust the tariff laws more in accord with popular rights than they now are. There certainly is much improvement that might be made. Congress should be made to know and realize that duty to the masses is not one that may be evaded with impunity. They should be made to feel that they owe a stern duty to the people, and that laws favoring capital alone are not those which should exclusively engage their attention. It is not the strong who require protection, for they can defend themselves; it is the weak who are to be guarded from injury. The usual course of legislation has been adverse to this rule. "By defending the strong we defended the weak," seems to have governed the legislative mind.

But one thing is certain, and that is, that laboring men have the power in their hands to put themselves within the ring of protection, which may be done by following the example of the San Francisco iron foundry men,

becoming lessees and thus virtual owners. In this way labor can be protected under the law as it is. It is capital and labor combined, and thus protection is reached directly, which otherwise would be reached incidentally.



## CHAPTER XVII.

## LABOR OF THE MINES COMPARED WITH OTHER OCCUPATIONS.

THE standard of wages should be regulated by the kind of employment, and particularly the exposure of life and limb that is incident to such employment. Were the character of all employments alike in this particular, then the reason for a discrimination in the price of wages would cease. But this is not the case, nor can any present or future condition of things make it so.

The man, therefore, engaged in the pursuit of some trade or handicraft where there is but little or no exposure of life or limb, should receive a less price for his personal service than he whose occupation subjects him to the daily risk of his life, or some great personal injury.

The miner who labors in wet, damp, and exposed chambers, often a thousand feet below the surface of the earth, exposed to foul vapors, and liable at any moment to be crushed to death, or maimed for life, should be more liberally paid than he who does not

incur such risk. There can be no error in this conclusion. It is an absolute, as well as an incontrovertible truth.

Even the road that conducts him to and from the field of his daily employment is beset with dangers. The wire rope which lets him down the slope breaks, and he is dashed to atoms in a moment. The indifferent world may stop to say a man is gone, and the memory of the event passes by forever; but not so with the wife and little ones in the cabin hard by. Terror and desolation stare them in the face. They, too, may say a man is gone; but it was our husband and our father, and a terrible void is created, that separates us from the dearest and closest associations of life. Hope and fear have become their companions now, in the place of the strong right hand of the husband and the father. The mutilated body, enveloped in the coarse and blackened uniform of the mine, is as dear to them as is the dead monarch, laid out in state and covered with the robes and vestments of royalty, to his wife and children. The keen sensibilities of the human heart are not to be measured by social condition. They are alike everywhere, in the bosom of the peasant as well as the prince.

Again, the occupation of the miner is more destructive to health than other occupations above ground. It produces cramps and rheumatism, and the lungs become

diseased by the tepid atmosphere of the dark vaults of the subterranean chambers.

Therefore, in establishing a scale of wages, these matters should be taken into account. Let no man assert that the mining population of this country are an inferior caste, and therefore not entitled to all the privileges and immunities of any other class of men. Endowed with the same mental faculties, and possessed of the same feelings, and governed by the same manly impulses, he is the peer of all who occupy this land and sustain this government. His love and care for the welfare and comfort and respectability of his family are as firmly impressed upon his heart as can be found to exist amongst those upon whom fortune may have been more profuse with her favors.

Because we see him going to and returning from his daily toil in his blackened clothes and glazed cap, with his tin can containing the frugal meal prepared for him by affectionate hands, we are by no means to conclude that he is a moving thing to be avoided, and that he does not possess those faculties which not only make man what he should be, but ennoble the human race.

Infinitely more strongly am I drawn towards the miner thus attired, pursuing his way to his daily toil, respectful in his manner, and unobtrusive in his conduct, than to the poor popinjay with his hat upon one side, Havana in his mouth, behind his two-forty team,

whip in hand, sailing about the world to the benefit of no living creature. Compare the sterling worth and integrity of the miner with the lounge about places of amusement, and who, decorated in frippery, whiles away in idleness the long hours of both day and night, and whose feeble intellect measures the status of man by the quality of the coat upon his back, or the exactness with which he divides the hair upon his brainless head, and tell me which of the two comes nearest to the standard of true manhood ?

To the first of these classes I always make it a point to be civil and polite ; to the other, if I do not show it by outward tokens, my heart feels the most ineffable and utter contempt. A kind of cattle who never "earned the salt in their porridge," and whose life is of about as much account to the state or human society as the vermin which infest a dead and putrid carcass.

But the question of wages assumes another phase, with regard to a large majority of the industrial pursuits. And this is the case in that branch of business which furnishes a continuous and unabated demand the year round.

Most of the mechanical trades may be embraced within this division : manufacturing establishments, and the employments upon the sea. These different occupations are not so subject to interruptions as the

labor in the mines. I do not allude to strikes, which are voluntary; but to those causes which cannot be avoided, such as the constant change in the market, in the value of the product of the mines, the frequent accidents in the mines, caused by damps, breaking of machinery, caving in of roofs, and numerous other interruptions, so that in averaging the working days of the year we may put down a fifth of the time as unavoidably lost to the laborer. To this we must add the unusual wear and tear of clothing, shoes, etc., which is very much greater than in the ordinary occupations of working men.

Under this general summary, then, we can but come to the conclusion that the miners should be paid a higher rate of wages than others who are less exposed, and pursue more sure and uninterrupted callings. And I cannot for my life appreciate and understand why it is that our ears are constantly assailed with the clamor against what is termed the "HIGH WAGES" of the mining population. Who are they who are daily making a tumult on the question of "high wages"? It is a complaint that we seldom if ever hear from the lips of consumers. And this class, above all others, are the ones who, if wages are higher than they ought to be, have just cause to complain; because, in the production of any of the great staples of the country, the price in market is always regulated by the cost

of production. If wages are low the price descends, and if wages are high it ascends, in the same ratio.

It is the man, then, who buys, not the man who sells, who is materially affected by high wages. The consuming world do not seem to make complaint as to high wages paid at the mines. This cry emanates from the producers: they seem to have more to say on the question than the men to whom they sell.

Is there any good reason for this? Most of them have been prosperous, and become, if not rich, very comfortable in their circumstances, upon the labor of the men in the mines. And it really would seem that they of all others should be the last to complain of 'high wages.' Upon liberal wages they have been successful, and they ought rather to rejoice, in the fact that the men in their employ should have advanced also. If the operators were going backwards, and becoming impoverished by reason of "high wages," then there would be good reason for complaint; but this is not so. They sell in the market with a due regard to the cost of production. If the market price will not make the two ends meet, and give a living profit, I assume, if they are wise men (as I know most of them from personal knowledge to be), they will suspend work till it will. To make harmony — nay, to do even and exact justice — the employer and the employed should stand upon the same platform. The employer

should come to the conclusion that there is something wanting to complete his prosperity, if the men he has employed, and who were the cause of his good fortune, are not prosperous also. This prosperity should be mutual. There is no harmony in the mirth of one man, if it is moistened by the tears of a thousand.

The competency of the employer, and which, in a great number of instances, amounts to immense wealth, should teach him not to begrudge the small means of the poor fellows whose industry and toil have been the cause of this result. A spare dollar in their pocket, with which occasionally to buy a small luxury of life, ought not to be the cause or occasion of raising "the hue and cry" of high wages! And it has become a notorious fact, in these days, that the louder the clamor against high wages, the greater is the reason to believe that laboring men are receiving a proper and just price for their work.

When it is all still and quiet, and there are no paid croakers, "between drinks," to sound the alarm that wages are too high, the lull is painfully unpleasant, for the conclusion is, that the laborer is working for wages which affords him and his family but a slender, meagre subsistence. It is the calm and stillness which precede the earthquake; it is ominous that something is wrong. But when we hear the cry at morning, noon, and night, of "high wages—high wages," then

we may conclude that the laboring man has a piece of roast beef upon his table, and that his wife and children have a Sunday suit of clothes to put upon their backs.

It has really become nauseating, this everlasting complaint that laboring men are receiving more wages than they should. Capital would feel well, and kick up its heels, and rejoice, if it could establish a system of **FREE LABOR!** Labor without pay! a nice thing indeed would this be. Poor-houses, and asylums for crazy and deranged people, and prisons would of course multiply; but then capital could well afford to build them and maintain a paid police to prevent the inmates from eating each other.

Capital ought to know that it can only rely upon a well paid class of laboring men — because if men are well-paid, they establish in their own moral status that state of things which is absolutely a necessity in the maintenance of the position of capital. Under any other condition of affairs, in a republic, chaos will come — and where then is capital? Public opinion rules this land — it is the voice of the majority — **PER CAPITA** in America, **per DOLLAR** in Europe. The majority of **DOLLARS** there, the majority of **HEADS** here. I speak of government, for in the social status it is the almighty dollar here as well as there.



The European system of government is in accord with half-paid wages. Laboring men there have nothing to do with affairs of state. The American system could not be sustained for a year on half-paid wages. The men who labor have the controlling political power, and therefore they will not permit the starvation of the masses.

This republic is the embodiment of the majority rule. Our system contemplates not only equality of civil, religious, and political rights, but also equality as to those means and facilities which enable the whole people to live beyond want and destitution with proper industry. The laboring, industrious man, therefore, has a legal demand upon his government that he shall have a comfortable living. Low or half-paid wages will not give him this. He is therefore aggrieved, and he has his remedy. Alone he may be powerless to enforce it, but in combination with others he is not.

Nor should wages be so graded and regulated that the employed may become rich and the employer poor. Mutuality should furnish the scale — and that great constitutional principle of equality in all things, if properly lived up to, will protect alike the feeble and the strong.

I am informed by a gentleman (Mr. Charles Parrish) who is familiar with coal statistics, that the production of every fifty thousand tons of anthracite coal costs a

human life. I am inclined to think, however, that the risk of life is greater. I believe, from my own experience, that one life to forty thousand tons would come nearer to the mark. However, adopt the first proposition, and let us see how we stand on the death scale in the anthracite region.

The production the present year will very probably reach fifteen millions of tons. Incidental, then, to this production, three hundred able-bodied men will have met premature and violent death. The average of maimed and permanently disabled men, engaged in the mines, will certainly number as many more.

We then have the startling fact that six hundred men have been killed and disabled, making up the tables of mortality and accident for the current year. The hecatomb of Avondale alone adds one hundred and ten to the dead list.

What occupation or employment save war shows such terrible risk of life and limb? What one even approaches to it?

I notice an article in the ANTHRACITE MONITOR lately, headed, "An ill-fated family," in which is announced the name of John Stout, who was recently killed in one of the Schuylkill collieries, "and that he is the fifth of his family who has met death in the mines."

The conclusion, therefore, is plain and palpable, that

there is no branch of industry in this country, at least, which is attended with so many dangers as mining. The exposure is great, and, as a consequence, wages should be liberal.

Suppose that of the six hundred men killed and disabled half the number leave families; average a family of four for each man so killed or maimed, and this shows twelve hundred women and children, either bereft of husband and parent, or, if surviving, comparatively helpless, requiring support rather than affording it.

The Avondale horror leaves seventy-three widows and one hundred and sixty-six orphans, besides other persons, aged fathers, mothers, and diseased relatives, who were dependent upon the employés in the mines for support. This last number may reach twenty-five, making a total, therefore, of two hundred and sixty-four persons now receiving aid from the noble charity which a generous public conferred. I speak here from personal knowledge, having been in the board of trustees from its organization.

The statistics here do not reach my average of four to the family, but there was a remarkable feature as to the character of the ill-fated men at Avondale. Over one-fourth were unmarried, and the average of the ages of the whole number who perished would not exceed thirty-three years.

It is therefore a fact, that the work of the mines for the current year in the counties of Luzerne, Schuylkill, Carbon, and Northumberland will have added to the list of former years twelve hundred widows and orphans, including the families made destitute by severe and permanent injuries. And this list grows larger and larger yearly as the business is increased.

What an army of helpless people. Where are they to look for support and protection? The law provides for them but a meagre and indifferent support. Of this vast number of helpless and destitute children, without proper care and training, how many of them will be led into crime? Who can tell? The prison registry and the almshouse record may exhibit a sad state of things. These people are a part of our population — the laws of God and of humanity require their support and protection. But, alas! there are too few who stop to examine and ascertain the true condition of those who are immediately about their own threshold. A missionary field is spread out within the rims of the great anthracite basins, calling louder for aid and religious instruction than the far-off islands of the sea. A claim of the helpless people of our own race and color comes upon us with a degree of force that requires an equal force to resist. And thousands there be who shut their eyes and

turn a deaf ear to the objects of charity that are all about them, while they are prodigal of their gifts to imaginary objects.

In view, therefore, of the picture which I have attempted to draw, who can blame the hardy men of the mines for demanding remunerative wages for their labor? It is said that "the man who will not provide for his own household is worse than the heathen." With him it is not the question merely to provide for the pressing wants of each day's life. The dangers he incurs, the risks which every moment surround him, carrying, as it were, his life in his hand, like the soldier in the front ranks of battle, not knowing but the next bullet is for him—all are arguments in favor of "high wages." And the employer who can bask in the enjoyment of his wealth, and close his eyes upon the wants and necessities of those who have produced it, or depress the wages of labor to a life standard only, is devoid of those sentiments and feelings which alone make man what his Creator designed him to be. Such wages should rule as will support the family, buy the land and build the homestead, and enable the laborer to lay up a sum yearly to provide for the disasters to which he is every day liable, and the man or men who deny this position are not men within the Christian acceptance of the term.

## CHAPTER XVIII.

### REVIEW OF THE NATIONAL LABOR PLATFORM — NATIONAL BANKING SYSTEM.

IN my treatment of the question of labor thus far, I have generally avoided an expression of opinion upon those subjects which are accepted by the public as political topics. Certain measures of political economy were inseparable from the subject under discussion; but it was not my design, and I have not indicated even a political coloring to anything I have said, by which my readers will infer to what political party the laboring men of the country should give their support. In the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire there has been upon the part of the working men a political organization, independent of the two principal parties of the country. With these exceptions, I am not aware of any other action of the kind.

Nor is the propriety or the impropriety of independent political action on their part a matter for my inquiry. I may properly, however, suggest that any class of citizens who hold the balance of the political

power of the country occupy a very proud and exalted position.

It is with the measures of government that laboring men have a greater and deeper interest than with its official patronage. It is a question, not of the administration of the laws, but rather to see to it that there are good laws to administer. And this may be accomplished by an exercise of the balance of power. In other words, by supporting that party whose doctrines are most in accord with their own.

In view of the political aspect of labor, my attention has been called to a series of resolutions, or what we nowadays understand fully under the name of "Platform," adopted during the past summer by the "NATIONAL LABOR CONVENTION," which met at Cincinnati, Ohio.

According to my ideas of public measures, this platform of principles contains sound views, and a vast deal of good, practical common sense. Probably a better political creed, considered as a whole, has never emanated from any political body in the Union.

The views are liberal, just, and statesmanlike, and if carried out would undoubtedly promote the public welfare. The substance of some of these resolves I have already written upon at some length, *viz.*: the tariff, the question of Chinese labor, and the eight-hour law. It is my purpose now to review the remainder

of them, without regard to the particular order in which they were published.

The second resolution of the series contain these words: "*That the National Banking System, being inimical to the spirit of liberty, and subversive of justice, without warrant in the Constitution of the United States, and wrongfully increasing the burdens of the wealth-producing classes millions of dollars annually, justice demands its repeal.*"

Against the sound doctrine here enunciated there is no well-grounded objection. The constitutionality of the law I do not purpose to discuss; there are other objections that render it the especial object of repeal.

I am unable to find any authority in the Federal Constitution authorizing the creation of Banks, or even to issue what is understood as currency. So I thought in 1863, then being a member of the House of Representatives, and recorded my vote against the passage of the general banking law.

I am aware that Congress has, at various times, put a strange construction on some parts of the Federal Constitution. Under the clause, "to provide for the common defence and general welfare," some very crude ideas and most gross conceptions have entered the brain of the National Legislature. They have made currency, *gold and silver*; under the authority given to Congress to establish post roads, they have



granted charters to companies to build railroads in all directions, and given the corporate bodies money to construct them; changed State constitutions without the consent of the State whose privileges they invaded, and done many other extraordinary and startling things.

But this is not my present inquiry. It is to the Banking law, condemned by the National Working Men's Union, that I will confine my remarks. For the sake of argument, let us concede that Congress has the power to charter banks in the States and Territories, and issue notes or bills in blank for the benefit of these institutions. I admit it is a violent presumption; but for our purposes let it be so. Is there any sound reason why the government should not reap the benefits resulting from the currency system? The profits thus realized are immense. The vast sums that enrich somebody startle us when we come to look into the details. They are not millions, as the banking men's resolutions inform us; they are tens of millions annually! And when any candid, unprejudiced man carefully examines the features of this same National banking law, he will conclude with the Working Men's Convention, "THAT THE LAW IS INIMICAL TO THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY, AND SUBVERSIVE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE."

Let candid men therefore examine this question: travel along with us, and see the injustice of the meas-

ure. For a moment cast aside the *political* view and put on the spectacles of common sense. Look the matter squarely in the face and eyes; and there cannot be the shadow of doubt but that they will conclude that the banking system is unclean, and should meet the unqualified condemnation of the National Legislature.

The law establishing the National Banking Associations was approved the 25th of February, 1863. It is entitled "An act to provide a National currency, secured by a pledge of United States stocks; and to provide for the circulation and redemption thereof."

The law provides for the issue of notes in blank by the Treasury, to the sum of three hundred millions of dollars; to be distributed, in the discretion of the Secretary of the Treasury, to Banking Associations, organized in pursuance of the law, among the States, Territories, and the District of Columbia.

This sum has been since increased by legislation, and will in all probability continue to be increased from time to time, unless checked by the popular voice.

The Banking Associations are required to deposit in the United States Treasury, as security for the payment of their bills, bonds of the United States bearing interest equal to thirty per cent. of their stock paid in. Upon this sum so deposited (the interest upon

which they draw semi-annually) the Associations are entitled to receive ninety per cent. of the current market value of the bonds, in circulating notes of different denominations in blank, and which constitute when signed by their officers the currency of the nation. This, in as few words as I can use, constitutes a synopsis of the General Banking Law.

It will be seen, therefore, that an Association depositing in the United States Treasury a hundred thousand dollars in bonds, when their current value is \$110.00, will receive a hundred thousand dollars in bills. Upon this deposit the Bank receives back in interest what is equivalent to seven per cent. They loan the currency furnished by the government at an interest, most of them at eight per cent., thus making a total of FIFTEEN PER CENT. annual interest, upon the one hundred thousand dollars so deposited. An exceedingly comfortable method of investing money. And it by no means takes us by surprise, when we read in the Washington papers of the failures to repeal the Banking law, particularly when the majority of Congress either are shareholders in these institutions, or are under the control of shareholders. Who has the hardihood to say, in a calm and unprejudiced view of this part of the subject, that these associations are not SUBVERSIVE OF THE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE. The National Convention of Working Men have therefore

stated a correct principle, when they proclaim these associations as "subversive of justice" because they are placed on a better footing than the producing classes of the country. Equality and uniformity in taxation is one of the cardinal rules of Constitutional law. No harm can arise to the character of the currency by repealing the law. Gold and silver are not the basis of redemption of these bills. It is Government Bonds. The government, therefore, is just as liable for the payment of these bonds as it is for the issue of its own ninety millions of "legal tenders." There is no distinction. Upon the issue of these there is saved to the country, calling it seven per cent., five million six hundred thousand dollars annually. Now mark the sequel: if the law authorizing the issue of legal tenders shall not be repealed, and this bonus of nearly six millions annually, conferred upon banking associations. I venture the prediction, and assume that this will be the result.

A circular issued by the National Treasury on the 13th of July, 1870, informs us that at that date the Banking Associations had a credit in that department of bonds deposited of three hundred and thirty-eight millions eight hundred and forty-five thousand two hundred (\$338,845,200) dollars.

This I suppose to be the par value of the bonds. Call their market value \$110, and then the banks

have received an amount of circulation equal to the par value of the amount of bonds on deposit. And as the Treasury is constantly increasing the number of these banks, as well as the capital of those already chartered, it will be safe to assume at this date (Oct. 18, 1870) that bills have been issued in blank to the amount of three hundred and fifty millions of dollars.

What is the annual interest on this sum of money, at seven per cent. ? The modest little sum of *twenty-four million five hundred thousand dollars*. Who gather this sum into their pockets ? Bank shareholders. Who make up the sum ? The tax-payers. A nice annual sinking fund would this make towards the payment of the national debt ! And a contemplation of these figures prompted the mind of that man who wrote the resolution embodied in the National Working Men's Convention — when he put upon paper the solid axiom, that these Banking Associations are “**INIMICAL TO THE SPIRIT OF LIBERTY.**”

So they are, and none are more aware of the truth of it than they who semi-annually pocket the enormous profits which the same associations produce. Why, therefore, should not the government put the bank issues upon the same scale of their legal tenders, and save to the government and people twenty-four million five hundred thousand dollars annually, which is now forced from an over-taxed and oppressed people ?

Let the government issue and sign its own currency. The government has the ability to stand good for its redemption, if it has the ability to pay the bonds which under the Banking law are made the basis of redemption. It is one and the same thing. It is the national credit which lies at the foundation in both cases. The banks do not give credit to the circulation: it is the faith of the nation pledged to the payment of its debts, and of which these bonds are a part. Now, if the Constitution is to be evaded for the purpose of making money, let the people have the benefit of it, and not the Banking Associations. The system as proclaimed by the laboring men of the Nation, "*is wrongfully increasing the burdens of the wealth-producing classes millions of dollars annually.*" Never was a truer sentiment uttered; never was a fact stated that admits of a more perfect demonstration.

Now, let us take another view of the effect of squandering these millions upon the favored few of the land — produced by that large and meritorious class who in fact produce everything, and to whom the nation is chiefly indebted for its great prosperity.

Twenty-four millions and half is a great deal of money. How is it to be raised? By duties, imposts, excises, and taxation in various ways. Every pound of iron the farmer uses in the implements of husbandry from the horse-shoe nail to the crowbar, every

pound of coffee and tea the miner buys for his family, every tool in the hands of the mechanic where iron and steel enter into its composition, every yard of imported cloth that makes the nation's wardrobe — all contribute to raise this twenty-four and a half millions, which might be saved to the Government if Congress could be induced to let the Government sign its own bills of credit, in place of doing it through bank agencies.

It is idle to talk of uniformity of taxation when such sums of money are permitted to be squandered upon favorites. It is cheering to think that the toiling men of the land have grappled a subject that needs investigation, and proclaimed their hostility to a law framed for the benefit of the rich, and oppressive in its consequences to the poor. "*Inimical to the spirit of liberty and subversive of the principles of justice, and without warrant of the Constitution,*" say they; and amen should be the response of the tax-payers of the nation. Let them all join hands and cry repeal, till the loud and prolonged sound shall awaken men at Washington from their lethargy, and teach them to know that there is a power that must be heeded when it speaks, and that this form of government was designed and instituted to provide for the welfare and happiness of the multitude, as well as a favored few. That the Constitution, headed in its honorable roll

of signatures by George Washington, where it declares that among the other duties of Congress they shall not merely "provide for the common defence," but that they shall also "provide for THE GENERAL WELFARE," means something.

The "*general welfare*" is ignored when twenty-four and a half millions are annually bestowed upon Banking Associations, instead of being applied to the payment of the national debt. The "general welfare" takes in the working men of the country — and if they are excluded legislation is a farce: and they are excluded from their rights and deprived of their privileges when such vast sums of money are annually bestowed upon the capital of the country. The voice of capital is potent with the law-makers; the voice of the people shall yet be heard in this land, and be respected too. "*Vox populi, vox Dei*," was the motto of the multitude in the past:—let, then, the voice of the people be the voice of God in the future. In these days there seems to be a necessity of defining the true meaning of this motto. The Working Men's National Union have sounded the key-notes of reform: let every town and hamlet take them up and re-echo the blast. The ears of capital must be made to hear the sound, and heed it too.



## CHAPTER XIX.

## NATIONAL BONDS.

I EXTRACT from another resolution of the series the following: "*That the exemption from taxation of government bonds, bearing extortionate rates of interest, is a violation of all just principles of revenue law.*" This idea is in perfect accord with the true theory of political economy, as well as constitutional law. It is true that in an hour of urgent necessity the government was forced to many expedients that are justly liable to censure. So far as the bad influences of these constrained acts of legislation may be avoided, it is a common duty. Much more was done under this influence than should have been done.

Capital, ever awake, and generally in power, over-matched the bone and muscle and sinew of the nation. The latter were employed at Gettysburg, Antietam, in the Wilderness, and before the entrenchments at Richmond. Capital was building up, under the name of expediency, in the meantime, at Washington, with very vague notions of constitutional law, the tremendous bond system, and trimming it of those useless

excrescences vulgarly called taxation. Bone and muscle and sinew had not the means to invest in bonds, and therefore capital made a monopoly of the market.

The amount of these bonds is immense; and while they are totally exempt from taxation, it is laid unstintingly on bone and muscle and sinew. The working man's wages are reached under the name of income; his consoling pipe after his day of labor, his shoes, the tin can in which he carries his dinner, his cap, the shirt on his back, the window panes of his cottage, the coals on his hearthstone, his bread, and other nameless necessities, are reached through excise.

His tea and coffee, his molasses and sugar, the wardrobe of himself and family, and the few luxuries he may be able to indulge in, are reached through tariffs; and his homestead, if he have one, his cow, and his occupation are reached through municipal and State taxation. So that bone and muscle and sinew are not overlooked in shaping the revenue laws.

The bondholder, with his millions, reaps semi-annually his harvest of interest, but there is no drawback in the shape of taxation.

The bonded national debt may be two thousand five hundred millions. So it is said, but it is more

likely three thousand millions. This consists of bonds, which the government is obligated to pay, principal and interest. There are few who ever make the attempt to contemplate the magnitude of this sum. Great as it is, and when we come to reflect upon the fact, that the holders of these bonds, bearing six per cent. interest in gold, seven in currency, escape all kinds of taxation, we are amazed at the state of things.

To give an idea of the vast amount of the national debt, I quote from the speech of Mr. Knott, of Kentucky, delivered in the present Congress. Speaking of the bonded debt of the nation, which is \$2,500,000,000, he says: "Have you, sir, any conception of the magnitude of that sum? Has any gentleman here? I make no imputation upon your intellect, when I say you do not. Can you do it? Sir, it is not within the power of the human intellect. The brain reels beneath the immensity of the conception. You had as well undertake to number the seconds on the dial of eternity. There is one way however, and only one way, by which the human intellect can approach a realization of the magnitude of this sum, and that is by comparison. Each green-back dollar bill is about seven inches in length. Now place two thousand five hundred millions of them in a line, and you will find it will be over two

hundred and fifty thousand miles long. Geographers tell us it is twenty-five thousand miles around the earth. Our public bonded debt would therefore make a band of greenback dollars that could encircle this globe more than TEN TIMES!!

"It is said to be two hundred and forty thousand miles from the earth to the moon. If this is so, our debt would make a rope of greenback dollars long enough to cable the moon to the earth, and have over ten thousand miles to sag!!"

Now my readers may conclude that Mr. Knott has a very facetious way of putting this question; but I will venture to say many of them will long retain it upon their memory.

I had an idea, vague and general, of the national debt, but when I came to realize its character, measured by the method of computation laid down in this speech, I must confess that a new light gleamed upon the subject. The same gentleman alleges that the amount of claims upon the government, by the citizens of the country whose property was either destroyed by the war or appropriated by the armies, will reach three thousand millions more! But this does not so materially affect our present inquiry. It may, when we come to speak of that part of the working men's platform concerning economy and profligacy.

Our present object is to see how we are to tax this "belt of greenback dollars, which is long enough to encircle the globe over ten times, and cable the moon to the earth and have over ten thousand miles to sag."

And why should two thousand five hundred millions escape taxation? At two per cent., which is a moderate estimate of the modern plan of assessment, the product would annually reach the sum of fifty millions; more than four times the expense of the general government under the administration of the elder Adams, including army, navy, executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the government.

To the twenty-five millions annually, add this tax, which ought in justice to be imposed, and which the government now pay the banking associations for circulating their currency, and we have SEVENTY-FIVE MILLIONS that are annually laid upon the business men of the community and the working men, the latter class sustaining the greater part of the burden.

Now these are all stubborn facts. They do not admit of contradiction. They cannot be refuted.

Is there any other government on the face of the earth which permits its capital to escape taxation and imposes it upon labor? It is the landed estates of the English aristocracy which contribute the

largest share of the annual expenditures of the kingdom. The bondholders of the United States, who are the aristocracy of this country, escape the burdens of the government, which are laid upon the shoulders of the laboring millions! This is wrong, radically wrong; and calls for reformation!

And what is the argument brought to bear against taxing two thousand five hundred millions of property? The agreement between the government and the bondholder, that no tax should be imposed. A poor way of "providing for the common welfare," indeed; but admit the fact. Is there no way of remedying the grievance? For grievance it is, and can be called by no kinder name. There is. If Congress cannot impose, directly, a tax upon the loan named on the face of the bond, they can tax the income arising from the bond. This would violate no contract. I would not ask the government to reduce the rate of interest which they have pledged to pay to the bondholder, nor turn him off with greenbacks when they have pledged the faith of the nation that he shall have gold. But I would say to him, the income which he receives from the bond is the legitimate subject of taxation, and no contract is impaired or violated by imposing a tax upon such income.

The wages of labor are income. Why not interest? Other governments are in the constant practice of re-

ducing the rate of interest of their securities. There may not be an express contract in words between these governments and their creditors ; but it is equally binding by implication, as the written contract between the United States and her creditors. I know the sanctity that should be attached to the nation's plighted faith, that it would be revolutionary to violate it; but at the same time it never could have been contemplated by borrower or lender that the income of thousands of millions should be totally relieved from its share of contribution to the public wants and necessities. A tax on the income of the bondholders at home can readily be reached.

That meritorious class of gentlemen abroad who paid the sum of \$45.00 for a United States bond bearing six per cent. in gold, of \$100.00, it is alleged cannot be reached. And why? Where do they come, semi-annually, for the accumulated interest? To the United States Treasury. Let them submit to a reduction of interest under name of impost, tariff, or whatever name it may be called, corresponding with the income on the interest of the domestic bondholder. They can have no higher privilege than our own citizens. I admit there is finesse in the argument that there is just the slightest shade of subtlety in it; but the *ex necessitate rei* is at my elbow, and is my prompter! I do not mean that necessity which recognizes no law; but I do

mean that this government has the power to tax its own citizens upon the interest arising as income from these bonds; and that the only question which can arise as to the legality of the measure would be in the case of bondholders who are not citizens.

Allowing the bondholder who is a citizen to escape taxation, is gross injustice. One man may have his estate in bonds amounting to a million, at seven per cent. per annum. His income is seventy thousand dollars. He pays no taxes! His neighbor's may be in real estate, which may produce him an equal income. The latter pays on a general average for all purposes, State, National, and Municipal, not less than two per cent. — equal to twenty thousand dollars. So that the two men are equal as to the amount of property each has, but one goes free of taxation and the other carries the burden of both.

And when we come to apply this principle to the laboring men of the country it is not unjust only, but it is cruelly so. The amount of the matter in this case is, that capital places its load upon labor. Labor is the pack-horse, and so long as it will tamely submit so long it will find this load upon its back. And it must be borne in silence. If the animal complains, it is inflaming the multitude, and raising the cry of the poor against the rich! In Heaven's name, have the poor no rights? May no one plead their cause with-



out his motives being maligned and the sincerity of his actions impeached ?

And that very class of men, who through some advantageous circumstance may have arisen from poverty to riches, is the one which is loudest in their denunciations against the propriety of elevating and providing for that very class from whence they had their own origin. Upon the same principle that the manumitted slave who is placed in supervision of his fellow associates in bonds applies the lash more cruelly and relentlessly than he who never wore them — a phase in the character which philosophy shall search in vain to solve.

## CHAPTER XX.

## PUBLIC LANDS.

ONE of the resolutions of the Labor Convention was :  
*“ That the public lands of the United States belong to the people, and should not be sold to individuals or granted to corporations ; but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted to landless settlers only, free of charge, in amounts not exceeding 100 acres.”*

On the 20th May, 1862, Congress passed what is commonly known as the “Homestead Law.” It is entitled “An Act to secure Homesteads to actual settlers on the public domain.” It provides, “that any person who is the head of a family, or who has arrived at the age of twenty-one years, and is a citizen of the United States, or who has filed his declaration of intention to become such, and who has never borne arms against the United States Government, or given aid and comfort to its enemies, etc.,”—may be entitled to enter a quarter section (160 acres) of the public lands which have not been appropriated, with the view of actual settlement. And a residence of five years upon

the same entitles the claimant to a patent for the land.

Thus a most wise and benevolent law was enacted that day, by which the most humble individual of the land, of the proper age, or the head of a family, was guaranteed a residence and a home.

It was the commencement of a policy which not only provided for the present but many succeeding generations. It was a noble and generous enactment.

It showed a spirit of good will toward the laboring poor of the country. Not the poor only of the United States, but of all Europe. Because an alien coming to our shores has but to make his sworn declaration of intention to become a citizen, and he has not merely the privilege of locating a farm of one hundred and sixty acres of the most fertile and productive land on the earth, but, at the same time, connecting his future destiny with a country whose privileges and advantages are far in advance of the other governments of the world.

A government based upon the popular will; a democracy proved and thoroughly tested by a trial of nearly a century. A glorious law is that same Homestead Bill. It was my good fortune to have had the privilege of advocating and voting for it.

But unfortunately for the benefit of a large class of the human family, as well as for the best interests of

the country, the law stopped short of that point which, if attained, could have more than trebled its munificent character.

The whole public domain should have been dedicated and set apart for this noble purpose. And it is not too late now to do a vast amount of good ; but there is no hope nor reasonable prospect of intercepting that persevering and horse-leech combination, whose everlasting cry is give, give, and will continue, till the last acre of the public land has been ceded to them.

Railroad monopolies, whose agents have for the last few years swarmed around the National Capital, and whose arguments and persuasive manners have induced Congress to grant them millions upon millions of acres, that were worth millions upon millions of dollars, are eating up the public domain.

In order to give an idea of the extent to which this wild and unjust squandering of the public domain has been carried by Congress, I quote from a recent report of the Commissioner of the General Land Office :

He says, speaking of the public grants to corporations, "It is of empire extent, exceeding in the aggregate by more than five million acres the entire areas of the six New England States, added to the surface of New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Ohio, Delaware, Maryland, and Virginia.

"That the grants to the Pacific railway lines alone are

within about a fourth of being twice the area of England, Scotland, Wales, Ireland, Guernsey, Jersey, the Isle of Man, and the islands of the British Seas; and within less than a tenth of being equal to the French Empire proper!"

In this, we have an illustration of what can be effected by the concentrated power of incorporated wealth. If the system is to be continued, the remaining portion of the public domain will disappear in a short time.

These greedy speculators have tasted the spoils, and their appetites have become as keen as their faculties in scenting out the public plunder. Like a hungry pack of wolves upon the track of the quarry, they will pursue it on, till the last quarter section of the public lands yields to their selfish cupidity. They strike not for the partition of the public domain, but for absolute monopoly; they have already procured the preponderance of legislative power, and in the union of these two elements they will soon be in condition to shape and mould a form of government to their will.

I have thus given an idea as to the extent of territory that these corporations have amassed within the last few years, and they do not amount to fifty in number.

I will now show the value of the land they have acquired in dollars and cents. I put the lands they have

filched from the laboring men of the country at the minimum price placed upon them by the government.

These lands were wrested from the government, too, while thousands of its laboring men were doing battle in the sacred cause of Liberty, and protecting the rich in the enjoyment of their homes, while they robbed the laboring men of their own. Of course, there can be but an approximation to their real value.

My friend, Mr. WASHBURN, of Illinois, and now our minister at St. Cloud, forwarded to me a speech of his, delivered in the last Congress, upon this subject; and it does me much satisfaction to say of this gentleman, that his voice was ever raised in opposition to these stupendous frauds upon the people of the United States, and that his conduct abroad, sympathizing as he has with the French people in their efforts to establish a republic upon the ruins of an imperial dynasty, is worthy of all praise.

He says, "It will be impossible for me to analyze the legislation of Congress upon this subject for the past fifteen or eighteen years. I must therefore content myself by simply calling the attention of the House to the fact, that nearly one-third of the entire public domain has been made over to the control of railroad corporations. The number of acres granted for railroad purposes is estimated at one hundred and eighty-five millions.

“At the minimum price for the public lands, \$1.25 an acre, this amounts to more than *two hundred and thirty-one million dollars*.

“But this is by no means the value of the lands given away. While a considerable portion of the land may not be really worth the minimum price set by the government, taking it altogether it is worth a great deal more. A great deal of it is worth \$2.50 an acre. A less quantity, though a very large quantity, is worth \$5 an acre. Tens of millions are worth \$10 an acre.

“It is, therefore, not an over-estimate to say that the public land voted away by Congress in the last eighteen years has not been worth less than FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS!”

Thus a sum, if this gentleman's statements are correct (and there is no reason to doubt them), has been given to railroad monopolies, which would cancel and pay one-fifth of the bonded debt of the United States. A gift without consideration. A crowning capstone upon the pyramid of incorporated wealth.

The corrupt influences which these exorbitant largesses have produced upon the morals of the country, and the harm they are calculated to produce hereafter, to both government and people, and the corrupt schemes which led to their accomplishment, I shall not stop to eliminate or to discuss.

My business with this subject is to show the pecuni-

ary wrongs it has inflicted upon the great mass of the people.

When we come to consider the fact of the thousands upon thousands—nay, millions upon millions—of comfortable homes that these broad acres would have provided, and that have gone into the exacting and greedy maws of incorporated companies, we stand back in utter amazement, and wonder how, in what way, or by what cunning and underhanded process it has been accomplished!

The government has received nothing in exchange. The public treasury has not a dollar additional. The people have in no way received any substantial gain or advantage.

Capital alone has made the profit out of the transaction—unless those insinuating and persuasive agents which she employed, either to argue her cause or adopt more feasible measures, may have gotten the jackal's share.

The Laboring Men's Convention has resolved "*that these lands should not be sold to individuals, nor granted to corporations, but should be held as a sacred trust for the benefit of the people, and should be granted free of cost to landless settlers.*"

In this we have the true ring of the genuine metal. But who will heed the counsel? Who, in power, will profit by the wholesome advice?



Simultaneous with the sound of the speaker's gavel that shall announce the assembling of each successive Congress, will come up the cry of corporation agents, asking for the cession of the public land, so long as there is an inch of it remaining.

In the short space of eighteen years, ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE MILLION ACRES have been granted, without the payment of one dollar as consideration money, to railroad companies.

*"One-third of the public domain"* has in this manner been disposed of. So said Mr. WASHBURN, on the 19th of January, 1869, and how much has been granted since? And how much will be granted between this and the expiration of the present Congress? Who can pretend to answer?

This sacred trust of the people is managed and conducted in a way that should bring down the condemnation of good men everywhere. A voice should go up to Congress that cannot be mistaken — the voice of the multitude, the voice of an indignant, abused, and injured people.

For the past profligacy in this particular, there is no remedy. The act is done; the deed has been signed, sealed, and delivered, and the only hope is in the future.

A large portion of the public land is still undisposed of; this should at least be saved from the corporate

grasp. Cannot the popular sentiment be uttered so loud as to stop these gross acts, and wrongs to the working men of the country? If not, then the millions are powerless!

The Constitution of the United States informs us that it is "WE, THE PEOPLE, who do ordain and establish, etc." — not WE, THE INCORPORATED.

And when it is manifest that corporate power is daily encroaching upon the popular privileges — it is time that "WE, THE PEOPLE," asserted our power, and issued a proclamation that what there is left of the public domain we will preserve for the occupation of ourselves and children; and that from henceforth not one acre shall be sold to any individual, or granted to any corporate body, "but shall be held," in the language of the Working Men's resolutions, "AS A SACRED TRUST."

The platform further provides, "*that no man or set of men are entitled to exclusive, separate emoluments, privileges, or immunities from government, but in consideration of public services; and laws destructive of these fundamental principles are without moral binding force, and should be repealed.*"

Any one who may have paid attention to the course of legislation in the United States for the last twenty years, and also in the State establishments, and particularly since 1860, will have seen that the tendency

of the law-making power has been continually encroaching upon individual rights for the benefit of incorporated associations. In fact we have reached that point when the political and civil privileges of the individual have almost become obsolete. Incorporated power holds the reins of the national and State Governments. And no more glaring instance of this need be adduced than the recent effort made to repeal the banking law, which was signally defeated by shareholders in these associations, and their influence upon others who were not. The public was informed through the press that this was the chief reason of the defeat of the measure.

Take into consideration the power which caused this, and which has transferred over one-third part of the public domain, or ONE HUNDRED AND EIGHTY-FIVE MILLION ACRES, EQUAL IN VALUE TO FIVE HUNDRED MILLION DOLLARS, to incorporated companies, and the most feeble intellect may readily comprehend that it is great, and the effect of it is the destruction of individual rights.

"Separate emoluments, exclusive privileges and immunities," have been conferred without stint or limit. The conduct of the State governments has not been less censurable in this particular. The incorporated companies have the almost absolute control of the legislature of Pennsylvania. During the last session of

this body they passed an act, appropriating the sinking fund of the State, which had grown through taxation for a series of years to nearly ten millions of dollars, and expressly set apart for cancellation of the State debt, to a railroad company. And but for the interference of the executive veto, this would have become a law.

More than two-thirds of the National and State legislation inures to the benefit of incorporated capital. Now there can be no reasonable pretence for the justification of this conduct. It is "exclusive" legislation; it is for the benefit solely of a "set of men," at the sacrifice of the "*privileges and immunities*" of others. It is wrong, and calls loudly for a remedy.

The working men of the country may well realize that their constitutional rights are continually and constantly becoming less and less. And if there be no check, the time is not remote when, like Sampson, they will be shorn of their power and strength. Capital has rights, incorporated companies have rights, but so have bone and sinew and muscle; and so completely and thoroughly have the legislative bodies become indoctrinated with the principle that "to take care of the rich is providing for the wants of the poor," that they see but one class to be legislated for, and that class is composed of the capitalists of the country.

We see this standing out boldly in every tariff law that is enacted ; the laws exempting taxation on two thousand five hundred millions of bonds ; the surrender of the title of one hundred and eighty-five million acres of the public land gratuitously to corporations ; and the granting of railroad charters accompanied by subsidies in money, not merely sufficient to build and stock their roads, but leaving large surplusses to be divided among the shareholders.

The sum given to the Union Pacific Railroad alone, as a bonus, amounts to seventeen million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars, a clean gift over and above the amount granted to build and stock eleven hundred and ten miles of road.

Well may a representative declare in his place in Congress, that such an act "will stand out in history as being more infamous than any act ever passed by any legislative body in the annals of the world." And well may the working men of the land proclaim, that such "*laws are destructive of the fundamental principles of free government.*" If this be not legislation for a specific class, then there is no name for it. Those chartered railroad companies are not content with the great privilege of incorporate monopoly and power, not with a grant and cession of the public domain cut off in slices corresponding with the geographical limits of the great States of New York and Pennsyl-

vania, not with United States bonds, and subsidies sufficient to build and stock their roads; but they must have in addition to all this a gift of tens of millions for division amongst the stockholders. A reward, it is to be presumed, for the magnificent conception of such stupendous schemes.

I quote further from the speech of Mr. WASHBURN, in reference to a supplement proposed to the act incorporating the Union Pacific Railroad Company, in which the company were seeking more extended privileges, and asking to be released from some of their obligations.

He says, "It was an act which swept away all the rights which the Government had reserved to itself; an act which I have heretofore denounced in this house, and one which will stand out in history as being more infamous than any act ever passed by any legislative body, in the annals of the world. The report of the government director of the Union Pacific Railroad Company shows the following state of facts: that the entire length of the road will be eleven hundred and ten miles, and that the government subsidy in bonds for that distance, at par, amounts to \$29,504,000, an average per mile of \$26,580. The company's first mortgage bonds are estimated at ninety-two per cent. and would yield \$27,143,680. The fund realized to the company from these two sources

amounts to \$56,647,680, being an average per mile of \$51,034, exceeding by \$16,056.68 the actual cost of constructing and fully equipping the road, and yielding a profit of more than \$17,750,000; and then it will be seen that this Union Pacific Railroad Company will have, in addition to its vast empire of public land, a railroad eleven hundred and ten miles long, fully equipped, free of cost, and a surplus of seventeen million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars put into the pockets of its directors."

The following table will shed some light upon the munificent grants made by Congress to railroad companies. It has granted subsidies in bonds to the following companies. There may be more, but the following exhibit will answer my purpose:

To the Union Pacific.....	820 miles.....	\$20,238,000 00
Central Pacific of Cal .....	380 miles.....	14,764,000 00
U. Pacific, Eastern Division.....	393 miles.....	6,803,000 00
Sioux City and Pacific.....	60½ miles.....	1,112,000 00
Western Pacific.....	20 miles.....	320,000 00
Atchison and Pike's Peak.....	100 miles.....	640,000 00
Central Branch Union Pacific.....		960,000 00
		<hr/>
		\$44,837,000 00

This grand total of forty-four million three hundred and thirty-seven thousand dollars, with the sum annually increasing, as the roads progress, gives us a sickening idea of the unpardonable and wicked policy of such legislation.

And is it not truly "the most infamous" in character "of any legislation in the annals of the world"? And until the recent convention of the working men, I am not aware that the subject has attracted any especial notice. The truth is, that the people have become so accustomed to these enormities in national and State legislation, that they have quailed under the idea of a remedy, and sat down in silence under the terrible wrongs. Capital seems to have asserted its sovereignty, and the entire legislative branch of the government has quietly yielded to the soothing influences, and "*one set of men*" have become the "*exclusive*" recipients of "*separate emoluments*." Of this there cannot be much doubt; and is this course to be continued? Bone and muscle and sinew can endure much in the way of exposure; they can stand the chilling blasts of winter, and the tropical sun of summer; but, the question arises, can they endure such profligacy as now marks the channel of legislation? Will the working men of the land, who hold in their hand the destiny of government and men, remain passive under such abuses?

It cannot be properly chargeable to either of the acknowledged political parties of the country, for, upon examination, I find that those two parties in Congress have both participated in these extravagances, and



more particularly in the land grants and railroad subsidies.

It has been my aim, in treating the labor question, to avoid the discussion of strictly party matters. It is true, many subjects that I have touched upon political men have sought to impress with their mark of ownership, but the claim, merely, does not establish the validity of title. The remedy must be enforced, irrespective of party. And the mere fact, that unjust legislation has received the sanction of the two principal political organizations of the country, affords no argument of justification whatever.

The more recent system of legislation of the country demands reform. It has become a necessity, and the movement could not have been made in a more proper direction, than by the laboring masses of the country. For they are the class that have received the greatest injuries from all this bad legislation, and it is to their voice that more attention will be paid than to any other.

The elements of power which they possess, if concentrated, can enforce reformation.

The issue is with them, and they will receive the approval of good citizens in moving on in their work of cleansing and purifying the political atmosphere. The constitution of the United States confers no especial privileges upon one class of men over another.

Twenty men associated under a bank or railroad charter do not thereby become more the object of legal favor than twenty men in the mines, or the same number in any of the industrial pursuits. Distinguished public services may very properly put the name of a man upon the pension roll. In this there is good and sufficient reason. But how, and by what process, incorporated railroad companies are to be treated as public pensioners, is a matter of marvel, and yet it is a stubborn fact that they are gradually gathering within their toils the land, the money, and the political power of this country. They are becoming the "*exclusive*" objects of legislative favor, and what their representatives set out to do they generally accomplish; and if unchecked, they will continue on, with their extravagant demands, till the last dollar in the public Treasury is surrendered, and the last acre of the public domain is occupied.

And all this without warrant of constitutional law, or semblance of a claim that can make an impression upon the conscience of an upright official. The public welfare is ignored, and the insinuating, scheming idlers who annually throng about the National and State Capitols are the creatures who fatten and grow rich upon the public plunder. Despising labor, as a mark of human degradation, they seek to live, and thrive too, by a resort to those means which prostitute

the human character, and debase and blunt those finer and more exalted qualities which give to man his true title of nobility.

It is possible that the dignity of labor may yet afford *a convincing argument*, that will dispel this class of leeches from the public hospitals, where they have so long been quartered, and where they have corrupted by their example the public morals.

## CHAPTER XXI.

## LABOR THE FOUNDATION OF NATIONAL PROSPERITY.

THE platform contains the following resolve: "*As labor is the foundation and cause of national prosperity, it is both the duty and interest of the government to foster and protect it. Its importance, therefore, demands the creation of an Executive Department of the Government at Washington, to be denominated the Department of Labor, which shall aid in protecting it above all other interests.*"

The present Government of the United States has been in existence for the period of nearly one hundred years. During that time, and comparatively very recently, various public Departments or Bureaus have been added to those of the State, Navy, War, Treasury, and Post Office. That of the Interior, Law, Internal Revenue, and Agriculture are of modern date. It is somewhat remarkable that an interest which is claimed, and very properly too, "*as the foundation and cause of national prosperity,*" should have been so long overlooked in the formation and arrangement of the different departments of the

executive branch of our system. While the inferior parts, comprising the whole political fabric, have been provided for with an advisory and administrative head, Labor would seem either to have escaped the attention of Congress, or to have been purposely omitted. It would be wrong, however, to allege that the latter supposition was correct. We will, therefore, call it an omission. Sometimes, however, the sin of omission is greater than that of commission; and in the present case the delay cannot be justified by any sound and substantial reason.

For the questions of the National defence, the National credit, the Foreign and Domestic relations, the administration of justice, the transmission of the mails, or the great interests of Agriculture, are none of them superior to the question of Labor. For it is upon this that all the others depend, and without the strong arm of the working man we could not support and sustain armies or navies, or the national credit, nor accomplish the growth and production of the fruits of the earth—labor is the great producing “cause of national prosperity.”

Conceding this fact (and it cannot be controverted), the working men of the land should have a department specifically created for their benefit, and dedicated to their wants and necessities, their social and personal advancement.

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The working men's power should be heard and its proper demands conceded. It is immense. Its late developments may be read in the upheaval of Europe. The prisons of Wilhelmshöhe and Cassel tell the stories of Sedan and Metz. Napoleon and Bazaine — the master and the man — each at the head of an hundred and fifty thousand men but yesterday, are to-day as impotent as the most obscure man in their vanquished divisions.

The physical force of the people is moving on, dotting down here and there such exhibitions of power and might as neither thrones nor dynasties can withstand. The very soldiers of the Prussian king, who have borne their standards up to the fortified walls of Paris, and spread desolation from the Rhine to the Seine, have but to *will* it, and their royal master, and Moltke, and Bismarck may be no better off, as regards political consequence, than Napoleon, or Changarnier, or Bazaine.

And there is a moral force and power in this country, silent and unseen, but also steadily moving on, which indicates elements of strength and conquest in legislative reform, upon as grand a scale as the recent personal prowess which has added so many battle-fields to the pages of history. These battles and sieges, victories and conquests, show us the handiwork of the people. They are now led, to-morrow

they may lead. They are now subjects, to-morrow they may be sovereigns. Sooner or later this must be the result. "Republican or Cossack." The fifty years are up. The prophecy will be fulfilled. The voice from the barren rock of the ocean has penetrated the civilized world.

In this land it is "Republican," and the power that made it so is the conservative power of the land. And it is *the power* wherein lies the safety, and honor, and prosperity, and glory of this Republic. This being its status, it must be respected — nay, it must be obeyed. It is better for the country, better for all that it should be. But what is most cheering, in the aspect of laboring men here, is forbearance, gentleness, kindness; not a disposition to rule, but a prayer to be ruled in accordance with the constitution of the country; a prayer for that equality which is the essence of the fundamental law of the land, and heretofore the boasted theme of our statesmen; a prayer that capital may not be destroyed, nor its proper influence abated, but that it may not be sovereign master; a prayer that it may have equal privileges — no less, no more.

The history of this country has yet to record the first outbreak by the working men as a class. They have calmly and silently submitted to the most gross outrage upon their civil rights. They have remained

passive while two hundred million acres of their land have been given away to incorporated capital worth five hundred million dollars, and a subsidy of fifty millions to railroad companies. They have seen the shareholders of a single corporation pocket profits out of the money, while the people have paid into the National Treasury, levied in the shape of imposts, excises, and taxes, amounting to the vast sum of seventeen million seven hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

All this they have seen, and yet no popular commotion — no general outbreak, no threatening demonstration. But how long will this peaceful acquiescence continue?

The working men have met in national convention, and resolved that these abuses are wrong; they have made no threats, they have only stated facts. They propose remedies. Are they to be heard? Is their prayer to be granted? These are questions well worthy the attention of their representatives. The servant should obey the master. Let us see whether the Bureau of Labor is conceded. It is a very small demand. Let us see whether the lid of the Treasury will be closed against the avaricious grasp of capital. Let us see whether the public domain is to be further divided and subdivided among railroad companies. Let us see whether two thousand five hundred



million dollars shall evade its share of public impositions. Let us see whether tariff laws shall be passed which will fall less oppressive on the labor of the country than its capital. Let us see whether the future tax laws will *protect* the millions or the tens. And what *shall* we see?

I apprehend the same course will be pursued until the power which now lies dormant, but which is a silence like that which precedes the earthquake, will clearly and unmistakably show that it does actually exist. The masses of this country are too well educated not to see and understand this present system of exclusive legislation. They are too well booked as to their civil and political rights to remain passive. Nor have men in power a right to assume that they will not resist a course of legislation which looks to capital, and capital alone.

I will not say, with Mr. WASHBURN, that it is "infamous;" but I will say that the masses of this country, holding the political power, must furnish the remedy. Party cry and party clamor must not cover up these acts, which are a disgrace to the statute book, and are uncongenial to the true spirit of liberty.

And thus much on the subject of the Workingmen's Platform of political principles.

Having discussed at length, in previous chapters, the questions of tariff, Chinese immigration and Chi-

nese labor, and the eight-hour system, it is not my purpose to go over the ground again.

These subjects are alluded to in the platform, and the views in relation to them therein stated are in conformity with my own, written out before the convention met. I may have been more radical than the convention on the Chinese question. They do not state, in express language, that Chinese immigration should be prohibited, but leave the inference to be so drawn. It had probably been as well to have met it squarely. Their language is — "*That the presence in our country of Chinese laborers in large numbers is an evil entailing want and its consequent train of misery and crime upon all other classes of the American people, and should be prevented by legislation.*"

How can the evil be prevented unless the gate is shut flat down on immigration? I doubt if legislation can be made to prevent "the entailment of misery and crime," unless the cause of it is removed. I doubt the power of legislation to reform in any other way. If this is the proper construction of the resolution, in my judgment, the convention stopped short of its mission. But my reasons for this are stated fully heretofore.

I have been familiar with the theories and principles of the two political parties of the country for nearly half a century. I have read and carefully studied them; have heard them discussed in legislative halls,

and read the comments of the public press ; and I state as my honest conviction, and, I hope, unbiassed by prejudice, that the working men's platform of principles, adopted by their Convention at Cincinnati, is the most correct declaration of political principles that has ever emanated from any political body in this country. I speak of the resolutions as a whole. They are calm, and totally void of any inflammatory tendency ; respectful in the language used, and comprehensive in their grasp. There is neither too much nor too little ; they are to the point ; and they are based on sound reason, and show a discriminating, masterly view of the various topics which they embrace.

I frankly state, and honestly believe, that the government of the United States, as well as the government of each of the States, cannot be guided by a better system of political ethics than these so clearly defined and laid down in this same platform.

The resolves comprehend the rich as well as the poor ; claiming exact equality in the making, as well as the administration of the law, they place all classes on a common basis, and claim no especial privilege for any one to the exclusion of any other.

The doctrines are sound which they set forth, and there can be but one source of complaint ; and in this there is no justice.

Capital may wince, but it ought to be content with

the exclusive privileges it has enjoyed so long. It ought, in this age of learning and political advancement, to be willing to occupy a common level with labor. And those who control the moneyed interests of this land must learn in the nineteenth century, in the United States of America, with the blaze of knowledge that pervades all classes and circles, that capital cannot much longer remain sovereign. They must learn and must comprehend that in this Union *"all political power is inherent in the people, and free government is founded on their authority, and established for their benefit."*

## CHAPTER XXII.

## GENERAL REFLECTIONS.

THIS chapter will conclude my essay on labor. I have devoted some time as well as reflection to the subject. If my thoughts have not thrown any light upon the question, there will not, I hope and trust, arise any injury to the cause of labor. I have endeavored to place it in what I conceived to be its true position before the country.

It is a question of more importance than any other which can claim or occupy the attention of man. - It lies at the foundation of the national and individual welfare alike. Upon it capital must solely rely to maintain and replenish its coffers; the nation for its means of defence; and society for the example, as well as support, of its moral and healthy tone—the source whence comes the bread to feed and the material to clothe the multitude, including the idle as well as the industrious. From its ranks are summoned the strong men who fill the armies of invasion as well as of defence. They build the fortified walls, and guard them when erected. In government, the labor-

ing men are the beginning and the end; and but for them there would be no government worthy the name; their solid virtues and strong arms give it all of its material features, as well as its honor and renown. They make up the substance of a nation, and its vital principles they impart. And in the same ratio that their social condition is elevated and respected, so will be the character and condition of the State. And while this rule applies to all kinds of government, with how much more force does it apply to republican institutions?

So regarding the matter, why should not labor be attractive? Why should it not rather be made disgraceful not to labor? If indolence and dissipation are not classified as crimes that may be punished, they should at least receive as they deserve the public censure and the public contempt. By labor, I mean some industrial pursuit, some occupation that the public wants and necessities require. If public opinion demanded this, how much better would it be for the general good? How many would be saved from the infamy of crime, which in the great majority of cases is the offspring of idleness, and its almost inevitable result, dissipation.

A life of activity is the natural condition of man. He was never created for sloth and indolence. His muscles and nerves were made for action, and in their proper use he attains that satisfaction and enjoyment

which are derived from no other source. And that elasticity of spirit and vigor of frame which come from labor or other active pursuits are, of all other things, most to be desired.

“Go to the ant, thou sluggard; consider her ways, and be wise.”

Although long, long years of my own life have passed away since my own hands have been accustomed to toil, I look back to that period, far in the distance, as the most happy and contented of my life. Surrounded with few cares, and beyond the influence of those petty intrigues and cunning practices which constantly cross the path of those whose ambition leads them to higher positions, or to the accumulation of wealth, we look back with astonishment at our great efforts for such unsubstantial victories.

“Reason’s whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,  
Lie in three words — health, peace, and competence.”

And yet how few we find who are willing to accept this poetical maxim, which contains the solid truth! That bauble, which men call money, and which blazes in the distant future, is the all-absorbing theme of life in this country. It is the mark of nobility, and a corrupt and licentious public taste has made it so. Money, without regard to the mode and means that may have been pursued in its attainment.

I refer back to those happy days when I knew nothing of the keen pangs of disappointed hope, and was utterly ignorant of the feeling of envy towards others; when labor was attractive, because in the same field I was in the midst of happy, smiling, contented men, whose thoughts were occupied with the work that invited their hands; whose keen appetite relished the plain and wholesome food which we, in common, enjoyed; and whose rustic jests and songs filled up the intervals of labor. I fancy that I still hear the echoes of —

“ The song that the corn-reapers sung.”

How widely different such scenes as these, compared with the conflict of after life!

The forum nor council chamber, the hustings nor the banquet hall, have ever furnished that genuine and unalloyed satisfaction of the celebration of the harvest home. Here were assembled, clad in holiday attire, the working men of the vicinage, in honest and unassuming simplicity, whose outward speech belied no secret thought; men totally ignorant of that system of intrigue and deception which characterize the speculating and overreaching band, whose object is to fleece and rob each other, and dignify it by the name of *business*! Gentlemen with such smiling faces as would have set off becomingly the head of Carker,



the manager, and whose hearts, like his, are the hot-bed of corruption !

Show me the man who, in common phrase, lives by his wits, and who is not engaged in some industrial pursuit, and you show me the man whose moral sense, if he ever possessed any, has become so seared and blunted that he is incapable of acting from honest impulses. The community everywhere is corroded with their presence, and not unfrequently we find them under the cloak of religion ; “ buying and selling in scripture phrase,” and putting on a sanctimonious seeming, to allure the unwary. They are a class of human cattle seldom if ever found in the ranks of labor. Because the man who labors relies upon the wages which he earns, and his thoughts are where his business calls him, and upon the subject which engages his attention.

One never feels, when talking face to face with the working man, that he is in the atmosphere of duplicity. He does not think for a moment that he is being measured, and scrutinized, to see how much can be made out of him, and that he must carefully guard every word and expression that he may utter. His impressions are, that he is in the presence of an honest man. I speak of this, of course, with a limitation ; because all men who labor are not, from this fact, upright men. But, as a general rule, it is in the ranks

of labor that we find, to a greater extent, those genuine qualities of head and heart, than in any other class approximating to them in number.

The plain and simple occupation of his life needs no artifice or device to carry him through its struggles and turmoils. He is untutored in the hackneyed pretexts which make up the daily practices and deceptions, the usual resort of those who live, and, I am sorry to say, sometimes thrive, by work of the head, instead of the hands. And when a man acquires property by deceit or fraud, those practices which cannot stand the public scrutiny, it will be generally said that it is an evidence of his superior skill and shrewdness, or rather a mark of his far-seeing judgment. But when we come to look into and examine the details, we find grovelling rottenness at the bottom — and a soul reeking with dishonor. Fame as well as riches, obtained in an honorable way, are proper enough, but where we find one instance of this kind there are many exceptions. Honorable position ceases to become so, if reached in fraud and deceit, and what we call fashionable life has entirely too great an influence over our social relations. The tone and opinion which fashion establishes are in derogation of labor. Labor is regarded as common, and absolutely vulgar. We see the unfledged upstart curling his lip at the idea of the respectability of labor; and yet,

possibly, he may not trace back his own ancestry through a single generation, till he finds them in the occupation of hedgers and ditchers, in the uniform of the blouse and leather apron. Not that the ancestor is by any means disgraced in this position, for it is a thousand times more honorable than the one occupied by the idle and dissolute descendant.

How often do we hear the expression, "he is a working man only." By this we are to infer that he is to be classed in the lower and less respectable ranks of social life. He soils his hands, he wears coarse cloth, he lacks refinement, his caste is below us! Society will yet adopt the rule that social position shall depend on a man's moral character, and his integrity of purpose, without regard to his occupation. Money may be well enough in its place, but the idea that human respectability in the social circle is to be measured according to the amount of dollars and cents a man may possess, is a grovelling and despicable standard.

"The rank is but the guinea's stamp,  
The man's the *god* for a' that."

This country has well defined the rule of equality as to civil and political rights. This is the victory of the law. But the standard of measuring men's social rights, is probably less commendable than that which many other nations adopt.

And how it is that society will take into its circle the intriguing speculator, who buys with falsehood upon his lips and sells under very questionable pretences, in preference to that man who lives by honesty, industry, and labor, is beyond comprehension. It is a rule of society which depends entirely upon the quality of the coat and the ability of the man who wears it, to live in idleness or by the sharp practices of his wits. To live by one's wits; in other words, to sail so near the line which separates virtue and vice as not exactly to touch the latter, but to be ever in its atmosphere. Of this class the number is large, and, what does not seem very encouraging, it does not seem to grow less as the wheels of time move onward. This country needs a thorough and radical reform as to the question of what constitutes respectability, and, above all, a reform making the moral code the true standard of worth irrespective of money.

If this reform is ever to be accomplished it must be done by the laboring men of the land. Their vast influence brought properly to bear upon this question will do more for its accomplishment than anything else. In the first place, by precept and example in their own conduct; and secondly, to let those know who govern, and thus are put in the position of leaders, that they hold this position by the consent of the multitude. That they are servants, not masters. I am by no means

an advocate of an equal partition of property — called agrarianism in Rome, and Communism in Paris. For if there were an equal partition of property to-day — a year would not pass round before there would be the same disparity again. Besides, an equal partition would incur temporary indolence. Let those whose labor and industry accumulate property hold and enjoy it; but the reason that they met with success is no reason why they should assume a little tyranny over their former associates in the way of social intercourse. The wise man will not; but, alas! all men are not wise.

It is to be hoped that with all the facilities this country affords in her common schools, open to all alike, that the generation now coming into manhood will learn that the life of labor which the great majority of them will necessarily have to pursue will be one not inconsistent with high social position, and that manual labor and knowledge may be well classed together.

- The whole theory and practice of the governments which have preceded us have been in direct opposition to the best interests of the laboring classes, through the fear of rulers that the laboring man, if not kept in subjection, might become troublesome to the State. The idea that the character of the State would be measured by his debasement, or some other cause, has placed the subject at a great distance from the king; so that throughout Asia and the greater part of Europe, the

multitude have no part whatever in fixing the spirit of the nation — mere appendages of royalty, and treated as of no account, except to fill the ranks of war and till the field.

Richard Helmbold, who died upon the scaffold in 1685, for political offences in England, uttered these remarkable words: "I never could believe that Providence had sent a few men into the world, ready booted and spurred, to ride the millions, ready saddled and bridled, to be ridden!" A true patriot never yet died upon the scaffold whose life and principles were not made the subject of scorn and ridicule by the tyrant who adjusted the knot or whetted the keen edge of the executioner's axe.

The solemn sanctity of the law has time and again been outraged by the ferocity of English judges. The name of Jeffreys comes down to us as a synonym of brutality.

The judge who sentenced Robert Emmet — Ireland's purest and most revered patriot — to death must needs add to the terrible penalty low and personal scurrility, as though the judicial murder had not enough of horror to be pronounced in the ordinary way, but must be accompanied by thrusting a dagger into the soul of the convict. The rights of man and the conscience of the king have never been in accord. The low and humble, as illustrated in the experience of past centuries, have

had but few sympathies from the ranks and orders above them. They have ever been that vast multitude "ready bridled and saddled" for the aristocracy to ride, and they have felt the whip and spur for ages and ages. It is in very modern times that the dawn of REASON has illumined the working man's horizon.

The civilization of the last century has made telling improvements upon his social condition. He is beginning to be considered as one of God's children; and his likeness and similitude to his Creator are beginning to be acknowledged, though his breast may not be decorated with stars, or his head garnished with a ducal coronet. His employment—which for ages was the sure and certain indication of his inferior rank—has become at last respectable, if not honorable. And to-day, at least in America, the idea is discarded that, because a man must labor to live, there is no social locality for him but in the slums of civilized life. The life and examples of such men as Watt, and Miller, and Burritt, and a thousand other shining lights, have cast the lie, that labor is ignoble and its sons the objects of contumely and contempt, back into the teeth of aristocrats.

The history of the lives of these men furnish their successors in the ranks of toil with the established fact that labor may not only be attractive and honorable, but that from the intellect and brain of laboring men have

emanated theories of mechanical and philosophical science that have astonished an enlightened world — men whose genius and intellect have shed a blazing light upon the arts of modern times, while some of their contemporaries occupying the high places of power, by the mere accident of birth, have wasted away lives of indolence, and of no earthly benefit to their common race.

It is to be hoped that the time is coming, if not already at hand, when the true standard of man shall be predicated of his morality and industry and integrity of purpose — and not of the quality of the cloth of his coat or the blood of his ancestors — when true and genuine merit shall be the password to position and place instead of money and the demoralizing influences which are its offspring.

The men of to-day in this land who labor give to it spirit, form, and character. It is not the few who govern, thank God; it is the multitude: and holding power in their hands, it becomes their solemn duty to see to the faithful execution of the trust. It is the working men of America who hold in their hard, sun-burned hands, the present, as well as the future, greatness and renown of its government and laws. They have the force and power to make it a shining light to the nations; they must, therefore, persevere and struggle on. The goal you aim at is



worthy the ambition of the gods. Free government, equal rights, a free press, and religious toleration are the inheritance of the illustrious men who have gone from the stage of action. Their works do follow them, though their bodies have commingled with its original dust, and their memory should abide in the land which they consecrated to FREEDOM forever.

Do the people of this country realize and comprehend what it now is, or what it is destined to become? Its public debt of over two thousand millions of dollars — the result of a long and protracted civil war — and which would crush out the credit and resources of any other government in the world, is disappearing at the rate of a hundred millions a year. A population now of some forty millions, with a prospect thirty years hence of a hundred millions! The influence of American ideas and progress in science is making its impression upon all the civilized nations. It has become with them a conceded fact, that this is the spot of all others where the rights of man are not only fully obtained, but where the encroachments of despotism cannot advance.

The geographical features of America are the types of the immensity of its present growth and future greatness. Its mountains and lakes and cataracts, its seaports and harbors and vast prairies are nowhere duplicated upon the globe. The purity and richness

of its soil, its mines of gold and silver, its iron and coal, secreted from the eye of civilized man till within the last three hundred years, show in unmistakable language that God reserved the best part of his creation to be only occupied when the progress of human ideas and man's mental powers more closely approximated to the power which created them. Here all of man's surroundings are congenial, not merely for his present enjoyment, but also in keeping with what his future in the van of inevitable progress must be.

What have the precedents and customs of the Old World to do with us here? It is a part of the destiny of the American people to control, by their unexampled success, the political machinery of the other hemisphere. The influence of the growth and of free government will be by no means confined to this continent. As the rays of the sun lighten and warm the whole globe, so shall the rays of the sun of Free Government fire the hearts and elevate the standard of human thought among all peoples. No such stream of immigration ever poured in upon any other part of the globe as is daily discharged upon our shores. The ruling sentiment of almost every town and hamlet of Europe is American emigration.

As the floods and the winds come, so do the multitudes of the poor, and oppressed, and down-trodden of Europe, and they find, too, a welcome in their coming.

Broad acres, whose surface the ploughshare never entered, are reserved for their occupation, without price. Every element in the land is characterized with the God-like spirit of Freedom.

The natural wealth of the country is vast, and its full development can only be accomplished by immigration. Without immigration, the boundless prairies would remain the pasture-fields of the wild herds that have roamed over them for countless centuries in the past. They can be appropriated for better purposes. The limit of Nature's reservation has expired, — the time has come when the prairie shall be the home of man — not of the buffalo.

There is but one method to maintain the true position of a race of men, in consonance with the destiny which belongs to this Continent — the elevation of the social condition of the million! The people here govern; the people, therefore, must become sensible that with them are the seals of the nation's destiny. They hold them; and in proportion to the popular elevated moral tone will be the national grandeur.

The necessity of the day makes them the leaders. They must see to the requirements of the situation. As the government rests upon their shoulders, and the machinery moves by their will, they must make labor dignified by placing laboring men at the post of honor. This will put an end to the gibes and sneers cast upon

the man who earns his bread by the sweat of his brow. And it will also teach the idle and dissolute that respectability can only be reached in the paths of industry. Labor can be made attractive, if labor is the only passport to place and power, and this will make labor HONORABLE.

Let the prevailing American idea be — that by industry alone can the man reach the highest social position, and then we shall have attained what is absolutely necessary to carry out our boasted theory of equality. This word equality is meaningless and insipid if measured by a money standard.

Money is powerful because it is public opinion which makes it so. The man who obtains his fortune by a life of industry, economy, and fair dealing is by no means to be the less respected because he is rich. Such an idea should be scouted. To encourage such a principle would be kindling the embers of an agrarian fire. But is not the man equally entitled to our respect and regard who, with the same industry and integrity of purpose through life, has failed to make a fortune? If not, then sickness, or accident, or miscalculation, whichever may have been the cause, are to be considered cardinal sins, and the man held personally responsible for their effect upon his prosperity. It is rather the good character of himself that should add to his social status, than the results which have

attended his efforts. If the latter be the true standard of respectability, then it is the golden calf which we admire and worship, rather than the saint.

As a people, we have got rid of European ideas which tolerate the grades of society, and have framed more just and proper ones in their place. We have the same power, as a people, to make the rule imperative that money alone cannot be the badge of distinction.

Something more than the mere possession of money must be the governing principle in estimating social position in this land ; if not, then where is the difference between money and aristocratic birth ? The productive powers of money and aristocracy, unaided by other causes, are as incapable of making the basis and foundation of the social condition of the million as the smitten fig-tree was to bear fruit after the curse of the Son of Man. These are not in accord with the multitude ; and because they would widen the distance between them and labor is the very reason why they should not be the ruling element of society.

Industry connected with moral and upright conduct is the corner-stone of a proper social fabric. The force and power of a nation of men surrounded with those privileges which a republican form of government alone can confer, have the power, if they will, to

dictate upon the principles of knowledge and virtue,—the true scale of social position. Job, in his afflictions, asked the question : “ What *is* wisdom, and what *is* understanding ? ” His answer is couched in the language of inspiration : “ The fear of the Lord — that is wisdom ; to depart from evil — that is understanding,” — so the poet wrote three thousand years ago. The fear of the Lord and the departure from evil are a better and a safer guarantee in the adoption of a moral, meritorious, social code than money-bags and stars and garters !

Industry ! that is the word. Labor — some useful daily occupation — therein lays the foundation that makes the man. If they bring money, why, so much the better ; for money so acquired is just where it belongs. No man knows the value of a dollar who never earned one ; but he who has, is aware of its value, and it will not make him a fool among men. And he who has passed his earlier years in industry, and has met with success, will go back with feelings of delight in his review of the past. The Ghosts of Banquo will not “ shake their hoary locks ” at him. No wrecked fortunes of others, which he has produced ; no sacred trusts that he has violated, no moral obligations that he has evaded or broken, will lie in his pathway.

Proud may the man be who, in the enjoyment of competence in his old age, reposes in the reflection

that his success was the direct result of his own strong hands ; that he is not indebted to fortuitous circumstances and deceit, nor to those sharp practices which are the implements and weapons with which the strong but too often overcome the weak. A title fairly won is honorable, and so with reasonable wealth. But if reached through fraud and imposition, they are a curse, not a blessing.

But he who has met success by industry and labor has learned in his own experience other lessons which will be profitable. He will know not only how to take care of his money, but to enjoy it himself, and make others happy through its influence. He will necessarily have studied man, and made himself not only familiar with the condition of those with whom he has been in close association, but, far more important, his heart will have treasured up those kind and ennobling qualities which grow and flourish in the field of labor. His lot will have been with that class of men among whom there was less of selfishness, less of a desire for greedy gain, less of malevolence, more of charity, and more of those qualities which constitute real and substantial happiness than he will have found among any other class of people.

Were I asked where is the post of honor, my reply would be, in the field of labor. Were I asked in what capacity is man exhibited to the best advantage, my

answer would be, in the active pursuit of some industrious and useful employment—one in which he will bring into action those muscles and sinews, the direct gift of God, and designed for noble purposes.

Were I asked where are true happiness and contentment to be found, my answer would be, not in courts, nor palaces, nor in the idle and too often dissolute abodes of the rich, for envy and jealousy and sordid ambition abide there also; but in the snug and comfortable homes, where laboring men, in the midst of smiling, cheerful faces, have by industry and temperance and frugality reached a position above want and beyond the fear of destitution. Where honest toil has also brought peace of mind as well as competency, which will assuredly follow the daily pursuits of a life sanctified by industrious habits.

Such is the class of men who not only support and sustain this Republic, but who impart the spirit of the nation—who give it that glory and renown which reach the uttermost limits of the globe. A model system of law, and a form and character of sovereign power, which is the envy as well as the admiration of enlightened people everywhere upon the earth.

And this is the class whose example will bring to a Republican standard the governments of Europe, and they in time will reach other countries and peoples. The popular sympathy everywhere is with the toiling



men of this land, because it is the only spot now where true laboring manhood, which ages upon ages of misrule and bad government have weighed down and kept in subjection, has found refuge. The laboring people of Europe, striving for the attainment of those inalienable rights which should be common with all, will accept the example and precedent of the working men of America, though the despotisms and aristocracies among which it is their severe lot to have been cast shall topple and fall under the effort.

It may be centuries before the man of the Old World shall rejoice in the privileges of the man of the new. But in my judgment the leaven which is now working this side of the ocean will in due time upheave thrones and dynasties upon the other side, and compel them to give place to a milder, a better, and more generous system of laws — laws which will emanate from the great tribune of the people. If this is not to be a fact, then half the destiny of the American Republic will not have been accomplished. It should be our policy and practice here not to live merely for ourselves, but for man's elevation wherever he may have a foothold. On the sands of the desert, on the ice-fields of Greenland, man is man the world over. We may well thank the great Ruler of events that it is here where he has been permitted, though late in the line of ages, to assume his true status.

The last field of his occupation is the glorious field of his redemption.

I speak of man as he is, not of those miserable and helpless effigies who have his form, but not his physique — idle, dissolute, effeminate, and debased. God's man, as he made him in the Garden of Eden, and decorated his brow with a crown of "sweat," spangling pearl drops richer than diamonds, to be kept in place by the labor of his hands. A crown worth wearing, and conferred by a power whose authority cannot be questioned.

American example and influence must revolutionize the world. And tell me where shall this come from but the working men of the nation? There is no other source. It is with you, working, laboring men of the country to exercise this influence and furnish this example. If the men whom you elevate to high places of power and trust cannot be made to understand the true position of labor, occupy it yourselves. If the servant in *place* is out of *PLACE*, the master should occupy it. You are responsible for the success as well as perpetuity of this Government. The idlers who lounge on the streets and thoroughfares; the designing and crafty who live by their cunning and strategy; those who are rich by inheritance and accident, strangers to the daily employments of life, cannot give that

character to the nation which will make it a model at home, or worthy of imitation abroad. They are that ephemeral gauze merely, which covers the statue, but which neither adds to its strength nor beauty.

The land is to be tilled ; the mines are to be explored ; the ships are to be sailed ; the machinery is to be kept in motion. The product of these it is that makes the nation rich and great, and the people happy. And what is the propelling, moving power but the *hand*, the great strong HAND, of the laboring man. As the blood is to the life-giving and life-sustaining principle in the human body, so is labor to the body politic. The fresh and vigorous current which this imparts makes the strong and bounding pulse of the nation.

ACTION is the word which defines it all.

“Honor and shame from no condition rise,  
Act well your part : there all the honor lies.”

What though you may not be classed with the rich and high born ? If you were so, would your sleep be more sweet, or your dreams more pleasant, or your mind more at ease, or your health more robust ? High life amidst poverty is the most beggarly locality that man ever occupied. How infinitely better off is that man whose economy and simple life have encumbered

him with no indebtedness, who lives within those means which his own labor has achieved, than he who, to ape the follies and fashions of high life, has borrowed more than he can repay, and whose ruin is daily staring him in the face. What a tax is this to pay, to live in the smiles and sunshine of the higher grades of social life!—a tax which not only consumes the worldly substance of the man, but destroys that comfort of mind which is as necessary to the enjoyment of life as food and raiment. Nay, it is a canker that gnaws and tears at his very vitals. The true position in life is that which confers the most rational enjoyment. Hell is not more to be shunned than the situation of that man whose follies and extravagance have consumed his fortune, and whose pride or inexperience will not permit him to labor.

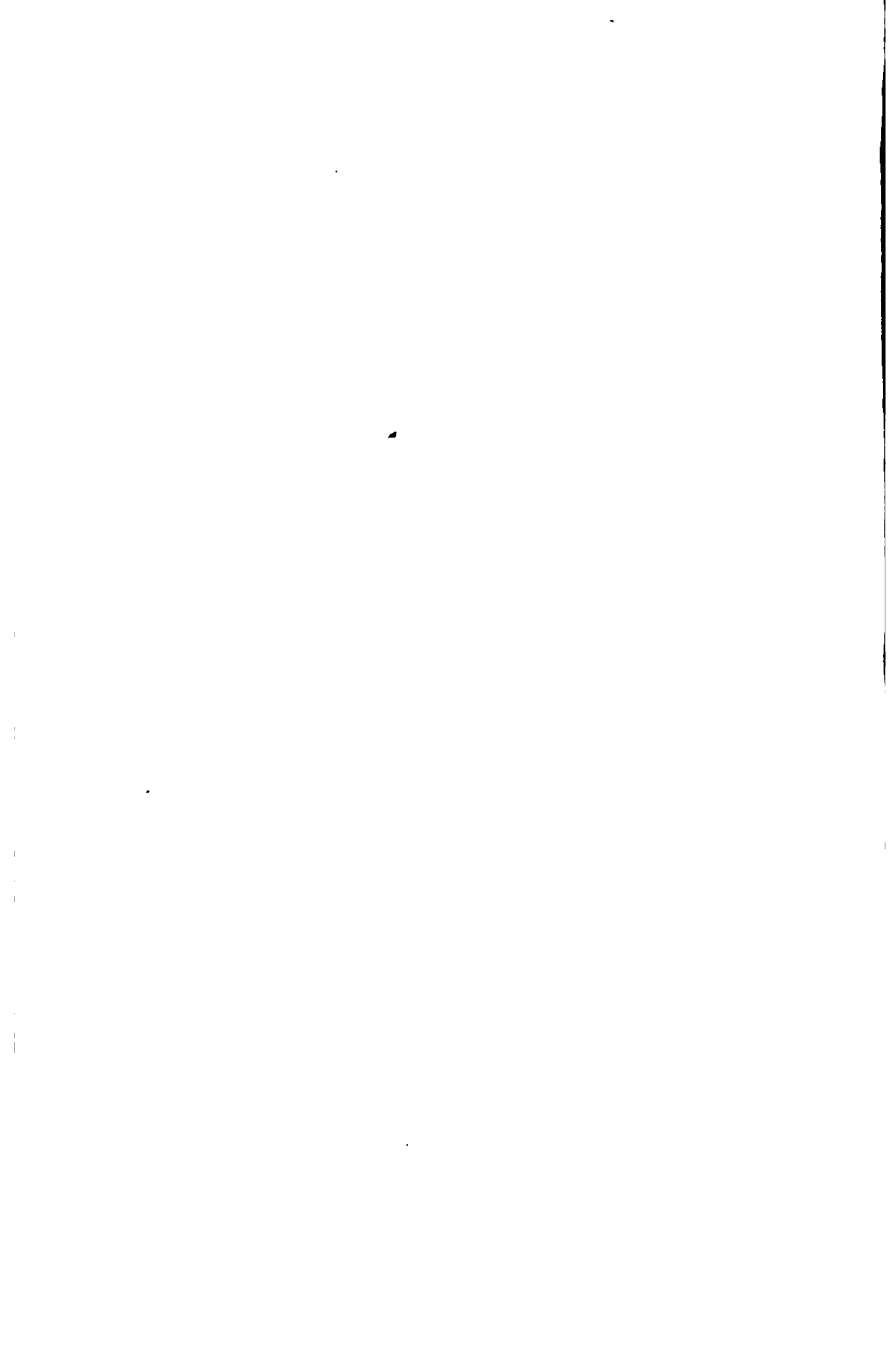
In conclusion, let me say to the laboring men of the country, that they hold vast power for good or evil; that it should be their steady aim and honest effort, by precept and by example, to elevate the standard of public morals in the observance of private virtues. Cease not to inspire the multitude with the ennobling thought that labor and industry are the only safeguards of honorable life. You may be unknown to what the world falsely calls **FAME**. It is well for you that it is so; for you are beyond the influence of the flings, and sneers, and shafts of an envious and exacting world.

And remember, that to your own strong hands and stout hearts you are alone indebted for all you may have, and to the rectitude of your heart for your peace of conscience.

And if you shall not leave behind you any signal exploit, or act of notoriety, which may find place upon the historian's record, the unostentatious example of a life of industry and moral habits will be held in traditional memory by your descendants, and will be more beneficial to them than the ancestral achievement of great deeds in the world's estimation, based upon cruelty, and oppression, and wrong. 'Tis not the epitaph nor the place of burial that ennobles the recollection of the dead.

Westminster Abbey may chronicle by scores the names of its mighty dead ; its cold marble may proclaim the heroic deeds of warriors, the renown of its statesmen, and the fame of its poets ; yet when all that is there shall have returned to its original dust, bones and monumental stones alike ; as this shall be, the world will retain upon its memory, fresh and vigorous, the recollection of another class of men, whose names were unknown to fame, whose lives were devoted to plain and simple occupations, who were neither great captains, nor statesmen, nor poets, and who were buried without pomp or ceremony : —

"Beneath those rugged elms, that yew-tree's shade,  
Where heaves the turf in many a mouldering heap;  
Each in his narrow cell, forever laid,  
The rude forefathers of the hamlet sleep."



# APPENDIX.

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## THE GREAT COAL STRIKE OF 1870-71.

THE preceding chapters of this volume were placed in the hands of the publisher in the early part of the great strike of the miners in the anthracite coal-fields of Pennsylvania. It was not then anticipated that this strike would reach its present magnitude, and it was therefore briefly mentioned.

As this strike is one of those matters intimately connected with the subjects treated of in this book, it becomes very proper that it should be particularly noticed. It has proved to be one of the most serious revolutions recorded in mining history. The effects produced by it have reached most of the branches of trade and industry throughout the country. Its continuance has been nearly six months. Individual suffering and want among the mining population have become a matter of serious consideration. A great branch of the trade of the country has not only been



interrupted, but scenes of commotion and bloodshed have occurred. The military power of the State has been invoked, and the city of Scranton is to-day a military camp.

The circumstances of this strike therefore present a case worthy of investigation, and one in which the facts should be thoroughly understood. The public ought to know who are the parties responsible for so serious a difficulty, and on whom to attach the blame. Somebody is at fault. The men of the mines allege that they are not; and the transporting companies, at least those companies who are the owners or leasees of mines, and in this way conduct the coal business, assert broadly that the serious troubles resulting from the strike are attributable solely to the miners. Deranged trade, suffering, and bloodshed certainly would not have occurred had there been no strike; therefore the great question is, Who was at fault in causing the strike?

After the calamities of an international war the first object of the arbiters of a treaty is to ascertain which of the belligerents was in the wrong. That party which, upon investigation, proves to have been the aggressor is the one to be made accountable. And so the community at large, which, as in the case before us, has sustained injury, should understand the true nature and character of the case. There may possibly be no

remedy, but still the public should so far understand the circumstances that they may be enabled to know where the censure should be placed.

It is my purpose, therefore, to submit the facts, as I have learned them from a careful examination of the subject. From these the reader will draw his own inferences; and will at the same time obtain some knowledge upon one of the great branches of national industry, which, if not of personal advantage, may at least be a subject of personal interest.

This strike, in its magnitude, its producing cause, and attending evils, is unlike the strikes which have heretofore occurred in the coal region. Strikes have heretofore occurred in the coal region because the persons engaged in the mines alleged that they were not, in their own judgment, paid a fair equivalent for their labor. This is not the fact in the present instance, for the miners did not demand more wages, but objected to their wages being reduced. They first suspended work nearly six months ago, and, comprising nearly a third of all the miners and laborers engaged in the production of anthracite coal, they struck because the large railroad and mining corporations of the Northern field reduced the wages of the miners thirty-three per cent. The effect of this terrible blow, as might have been and was anticipated, resulted in the great trouble which commenced on the first of December,

1870, and still exists at this time, May 20th, 1871; and the future can only determine its end, for human prophecy and foresight cannot.

The beating of drums and the clashing of swords and muskets are not familiar sounds in the great business centres of the country, in times of peace. The music of the steam whistle, and the throbbing motions of the huge engines crushing up and preparing for market the nation's fuel, are sounds far more pleasant to the ear, and gratifying to our senses.

The consumers of the great coal staple have rights as well as coal operators, their employées, and the freighting companies; and as these rights have been violated, it is proper that they should know upon whom to place the responsibility. It is possible that these millions of consumers may have a voice hereafter, when additional special privileges may be asked by incorporated bodies; and if it shall appear that the men who control and manage these monopolies have behaved improperly, then the consumer can put in a plea against granting them.

Many branches of public industry of the country have suffered materially for the want of their usual supply of coal; some of them have been paralyzed. Individual enterprises have also sustained irreparable losses from the same cause. It will take a long time to recover from this shock to the trade, manufactures,

and commerce of the country. The public is well aware that mischief has been produced ; but that same public has only a vague idea as to who has produced it, and the manner in which the mischief began and has been continued. My purpose is to endeavor to make it intelligible.

The anthracite coal of the United States, so far as discovery has enlightened us, is imbedded in the basins situated between the mountain ranges of Pennsylvania. These coal basins are distant from a hundred and fifty to two hundred miles, in a northwesterly course, from the city of New York, as measured by the several channels of communication.

The coal localities are geographically divided into what are called the Northern, Middle, and Southern fields. The Northern, by far the largest, is embraced within the boundaries of the Wyoming and Lackawanna valleys. These two valleys make one continuous coal formation—the Susquehanna river passing through the former, and the Lackawanna river through the latter. The length of the two basins is about fifty miles, and the greatest width, at the city of Wilkes Barré, situated nearly midway, is about five miles. Wilkes-Barré is the central depot and general business point of the Wyoming field, and the cities of Scranton and Carbondale of the Lackawanna. Scranton is the chief operating point of the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Wes-

tern Railroad Company, and Carbondale is the chief operating point of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company.

The Southern field is located upon the Schuylkill river and its tributaries, and is chiefly confined within the territorial limits of the county of Schuylkill. There are, however, small basins extending into the adjacent counties of Columbia, Northumberland, and Dauphin. It lies some fifty miles south of the Northern basin, and has an area of nearly half the size of it. Pottsville is the general business mart of the Southern field.

The Middle field is situated between the other two, but separated from each by chains of mountains. It is much smaller in superficial acres than either of the other two, is made up of a series of small basins, nestled in the mountain gorges, and is chiefly within the county of Carbon and the southern part of Luzerne. Mauch Chunk in the former county, and Hazelton and Eckley in the latter, are the principal business and shipping points.

These three localities furnish all the anthracite coal of this country. The Northern and Middle fields being nearer to the city of New York, a distance of one hundred and sixty miles, find a market there, by the several canals and railways leading in that direction. The natural market for the Schuylkill coal is Philadel-

phia, a hundred miles distant, *via* the Schuylkill Canal and the Reading Railroad.

The character and quality of the coal is the same in the three fields.

I have thus, in a few sentences, given the general idea of the geographical location of the great anthracite coal basins of Pennsylvania, and from which will be supplied the coal necessary for the public wants for the ensuing five hundred years. These mines are by no means inexhaustible. The immense quantity annually mined is making deep inroads, and the vast excavated subterranean chambers, already miles in dimensions, show that an end will be reached, and that, too, at no very great period of time hence.

The amount total mined and shipped to market in the year 1870 was fifteen million three hundred and sixty-eight thousand four hundred and thirty-seven tons. To this add the quantity consumed in the vicinity of the mines, and the total product of the mines for that year may be put down, in round numbers, as 16,000,000 tons.

The consumption at the end of the next twenty years may reach 30,000,000 tons annually, and this will be the full capacity of all the mines.

And when we consider that, of the vast amount of coal annually mined, twenty per cent., or 3,000,000 tons, is wasted in breaking and preparing it for

market, we must conclude that the generations who are to succeed us, and who will be obliged through our improvidence, in part at least, to pay double or treble the price that the article costs us, will not have a very favorable opinion of the economy or wisdom of their ancestors.

The limits of our anthracite fields are plainly and definitely marked. The stakes are set — the conglomerate boulders clearly and unmistakably define the outer rims of the great basin. The whole quantity, therefore, becomes a matter of mathematical demonstration. Not so with the coal measures of the British Islands, where they extend out under the bed of the sea, and cannot be measured by human intellect. The outcrops are covered up by the waters, and their existence can be the inferences merely of scientific conjecture. Our coal fields show themselves in their outcroppings upon the mountain and plain, and can be followed by a practical eye without difficulty. With us the ocean has receded, and the dry land gives us the boundaries.

The mining and preparing for market of 16,000,000 tons of coal annually requires a large amount of capital as well as a large number of men. The number of miners and their assistant laborers engaged in the coal business is not precisely known. It probably reaches fifty thousand. To this number may be added, proba-

bly, twenty-five thousand other laborers, in different trades and callings, whose employment depends entirely upon the labor going on inside the mines. So that a general strike, and suspension from labor of the miners also throws these other people out of employment. A strike, therefore, is a serious matter.

The miners for several years past have had a union called the "Workingmen's Benevolent Association." Most of them, without reference to nationality, are members of this union. They have their constitution and laws; and the object of this combination is not only benevolent in its character, but the association is designed to make a uniform standard of wages. It is incumbent also upon the persons who hold the funds of this association, made up by monthly contributions of all the members, to give relief to any of their order who may be out of employment caused by strikes or casualties.

The laws and regulations of this Association operate only upon its members; with those outside of it they have nothing to do, and *therefore the allegation is gratuitous and unfounded, that the Association attempts to control the action of any working men who are not members.* I am aware that such charges are made, but I have not witnessed (and my opportunities of knowledge are ample, residing in the midst of them) an attempt on the part of the Workingmen's Benevolent Association



to either coerce or persuade those who were not members of their order to violate any personal contract, or to desist from any employment.

I, therefore, as one entirely independent of, and in every way disconnected from, the origin or causes of the present contest, deem it my duty to disabuse the public mind of the wrong impression attempted to be made, that the members of this Association interfere in any way with other occupations, or with other miners not members of the organization. In fact, it has been rather a matter of surprise that so large a body of men out of employment for so long a time, many of them, as well as their families, enduring want and privation, should have behaved so well, and conducted themselves in so orderly a manner.

It has been upon their part a trial of long and patient endurance, and they are entitled to the good opinion of the whole country for their good behavior up to the present time at least.

In the month of November, 1870, when all the mines were in a state of quiet, and everything was supposed to be in a prosperous and satisfactory condition from the one extreme of the three coal-fields to the other, a small cloud, at first no bigger than a man's hand, appeared in the mining horizon. It was in the shape of a decree emanating from the office of the Delaware and Hudson Canal Company, located in the

city of New York, and directed to their employes, that "*from and after the 1st December next following, the miners should be paid EIGHTY-SIX CENTS per 'Diamond car,' in place of ONE DOLLAR AND THIRTY-ONE CENTS,*" the price under which labor had been for a long time regulated and paid.

Here was a clap of thunder in a clear sky! At a single dash of the pen an order is made reducing the pay of mine labor THIRTY-THREE PER CENT! *One-third off!*

This decree, as potent as that which brought the people of Judea up to Jerusalem to be taxed, *was acquiesced in* by the Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad Co. and the Pennsylvania Coal Co., and no doubt was the joint and *concerted act* of the three companies.

These three incorporated companies have the almost exclusive control of the coal business in the Lackawanna and the extreme northern part of Wyoming valleys.

That the reader may form a correct idea of the vast power, wealth, and business capacity of these railroad companies, I subjoin the following figures:

The entire production of coal for 1870 was 15,368,437 tons.

Of this, these companies mined and transported over

their own routes of communication the following quantities, viz. :—

Del. L. & W. R.R.....	2,848,101 tons.
Del. & Hud. Canal Co. ....	2,264,673 "
Penn. Coal Co. ....	1,086,782 "
Total.....	5,699,556 "

They thus shipped to market over one-third of the total production of the coal mines during the last year.

A decree, therefore, issuing from such a source, and under the sanction of these corporate bodies, had in it a terrible significance. A *triumvirate*, backed by a capital susceptible of raising and transporting 5,699,556 tons of coal annually, more than one-third of the entire product of the mines, is beyond all dispute an element of strength that is far from contemptible.

Now it is no part of my purpose to discuss the probable motives which actuated the gentlemen managing these vast engines of power, or to inquire into the questions which they may have weighed among themselves, from time to time, as to their relative position to other rival companies, or individual operators; or how far they possess themselves the power to rule and control the entire trade. These are questions that other rival interests, in other parts of the coal fields, will not only be obliged to discuss, but to *face* hereafter, if they intend to preserve their own identity.

My inquiry is as to the cause of the great strike, and some of its consequences.

What do we understand by the words "Diamond Car"? This has a local significance in the mining districts as important as that terrible word "basis." The miner cuts the coal, or more properly blasts it off from the seam with powder. To do this requires skill, practical knowledge, and judgment. He employs a man as an assistant, called his laborer. This man separates the coal and slate, cleans it from such impurities as it may come in contact with in the process of detaching, puts it into the mine car, attaches a ticket with the miner's name, and off it goes to the head of the "breaker." Here it is examined, and if it is not properly prepared the miner is "docked." If it passes inspection the miner is credited with the cargo, and the car emptied and returned to the chamber whence it started.

The "Diamond Car" gets its name from the Diamond Mine; its capacity is a ton and a half, and hence "Diamond Car" is a term to designate measurement. The miner, then, when he contracts to mine per "Diamond Car," contracts to mine a ton and a half of coal, and put it in the car, at his chamber. For this labor in November, 1870, if in the employ of any one of the three large corporations named, he was paid \$1.31. And what produced the strike by the men in the em-

ployment of these three companies, on the 1st of December, 1870, was the reduction of this sum to eighty-six cents per car.

These companies had paid \$1.31 per car since the strike of 1869; and while it would seem that their men received larger pay than the men engaged in the other fields, it will be found upon examination that the difference is trifling. The pay of the miners in the Lackawanna region, and in the employment of the three companies, had no contingent interest dependent upon the market value of coal. His pay was uniform without regard to the market value of the article.

This was not the case in the other collieries, and which combined produce two-thirds of the annual consumption. In these collieries the operators were governed by the "basis" (*i. e.*, giving the miner contingent interest of twelve and a half per cent. on the price of coal above \$5). To this the large corporations would not yield. They did not and probably never will assent to the regulation. And in this difference of opinion, combined more probably with other concealed reasons, there is not that state of mutual good feeling between them and the operators in the other fields which is healthful to the trade.

We find, then, that the operators who annually mine two-thirds of the coal adopt "basis" as the measure of compensation for labor, and this takes in all of the three

coal-fields, except the Lackawanna portion of the Northern, and a part of the Wyoming.

And what is "basis"?

If the ton of coal brings at Elizabethport, New Jersey, \$5.00, the miner gets about sixty-five cents a ton for his labor. If the price advances over \$5.00 he receives twelve and a half per cent. of such advance. His pay is therefore contingent upon the sale of the article. To this rule two-thirds of the coal producers assented; the other one-third, comprised in three corporations, declined for the reason that they will not tolerate the idea of a "PARTNERSHIP WITH THEIR MEN."

If coal averages \$6.25 at Elizabeth, then the "basis" miner receives about the same compensation as the Lackawanna miner at \$1.31 for the "Diamond Car." If that is reduced to eighty-six cents, then the Lackawanna miner will get some six cents a ton less than the "basis" miner, when coal sells for \$5.00 at Elizabeth. If the coal sells in excess of this sum his wages will increase at the rate per cent. above named.

Upon the proclamation of the decree of November, all the men in the employ of the three companies (Delaware, Lackawanna, and Western Railroad—Delaware and Hudson Canal Company—Pennsylvania Coal Company) resolved to suspend work on the 1st of December. They did so on that day, and on the 10th

of January following they were joined by all the members of the "Workingmen's Benevolent Association" throughout the entire district. The consequence is, that for a period of nearly six months one of the great branches of industry of the country has been at a stand still.

There was no disagreement between the miners and their employers where the "basis" principle prevailed. Both parties were content, but the men, as a matter of principle, were bound to stand by their associates in the employment of the "big corporations." And if they had not done so, it is difficult to conceive where the tendency of the downward scale might have ended. *They made common cause with their brothers*, and in this they were right, beyond all question.

We come now to the consideration of the main question: *Who is responsible for the strike*, and the innumerable calamities and misfortunes which it has produced?

I do not question in my own mind but that the *three corporations* justify their conduct in reducing the wages of their men thirty-three per cent. upon the assumption that they were paying them too much; will the *other operators*, who represent two-thirds of the trade, admit this as a decisive reason? Is there not some unexplained motive at the bottom of the movement which looks to the mastery of the situation at the expense of a defeat of the mine laborers?

How is it as to the question of wages?

Let us examine this question, so freighted with interest to the public and with happiness or sorrow to the miner.

A skilful miner who understands his business well may cut six cars of coal per day. The car based upon the "Diamond" standard contains a ton and a half. Nine tons—six cars—at \$1.31 is \$7.86. From this sum is to be deducted the following items:

Pay for the laborer.....	\$3 00
Cost of oil per day.....	18
Cost of powder.....	63
Dockage, two per cent.....	15
Repair of tools per day.....	25
<hr/>	
Total.....	\$3 21

This deducted from \$7.86 leaves \$4.65 as the per diem pay of the miner for his exposure to the damps, gases, and foul air of the mines; and besides this the chances of losing his life or being mutilated and maimed. It may be said that it is liberal wages. In Heaven's name, ought not the risk and exposure he daily encounters entitle him to liberal wages?

But where does he stand under the proposed reduction? Six cars a day at eighty-six cents will yield him \$5.16; deduct from this incidentals, \$3.21, and he has left \$1.95. And is this the compensation which incorporated capital would pay its hireling? Let the miner



reduce the pay of his laborer to \$1.50 and he will have left the sum of \$2.45 per day, a rate of wages which could sustain life, it is true, but by no means commensurate with the hazardous nature of an employment which sometimes sweeps hundreds at a dash to premature graves.

Any man who is *unprejudiced* will say that the employes of the three incorporated companies were *entirely justifiable* in suspending labor on the 1st of December, upon the reduction of their wages thirty-three per cent. Such a reduction has no precedent in the history of the mines; and we have already seen that, if not in opposition to the views of the operators who produce annually two-thirds of the coal mined, there is no evidence of their assent or concurrence.

So material a change in the price of wages, at a dash, certainly is an exhibition of power, but it is by no means certain that it was either an act of humanity, justice, or even policy; and a laborer engaged in any occupation would sink his manhood and independence who would submit to such a reduction of his wages. Want and hunger may in time compel him to surrender, but because he may do this, it furnishes no argument that he was in the wrong, nor does this *justify* the conduct of an oppressive and overbearing employer.

It must be borne in mind that those engaged in the strike *did not ask for higher wages*. They had no

participation in the cause which produced it. It was literally and truly an issue provoked by capital, and with capital humanity will rest whatever of damaged trade, domestic misery, or terrible bloodshed may result. It cannot be pretended, I repeat, that the operators outside of the three incorporated companies of the Lackawanna region had any part in the producing cause of the strike.

Is there, then, any doubt or difficulty in ascertaining who the parties are upon whom the blame in the case attaches?

The public press, and, in this connection, the "New York Herald" and "The World" may be particularly named, has pretty correctly placed this subject before the country; and when it places the odium of the strike upon incorporated capital instead of the poor miners, it is but the *utterance of the naked truth*.

Public opinion in this land has a restraining influence upon capital as well as upon men; and an outspoken public sentiment, through an independent press, is one of the means of turning the thoughts of those people who control capital upon the propriety of a review, if not a change, of their conduct.

Capital may have an element of strength which may overpower the endurance of the men in its employ; but, if this be done in opposition to the just and sensible views of an enlightened and unprejudiced public

sentiment, there may be very great doubt of the propriety or expediency of exercising it.

The men who suspended work upon the 10th of January, through sympathy with their fellow-workmen in the employment of the three incorporated companies, after a period of more than four months, resumed their occupation, upon the payment of the same wages that they were receiving at that time. *So two-thirds of the difficulty is removed.*

The remaining third, or those who suspended on the first of December, are still out of employment. So far, there has, in their case, been a failure to come to an agreement with their employers. They have made reasonable propositions of arbitration, but their propositions, which were based upon a reduction of their wages to a very great extent, have been rejected.

It is true that the companies made a proposition that if the men would resume work at the price of eighty-six cents, the "Diamond Car," that on the first of June they would submit to arbitration. But the *absurd condition* coupled with this offer of arbitration on their part made it *impossible* for the men to accept. This strange proposition was, that the umpire should not add over three cents a ton to the reduced price of mining. Such a proposition cannot be dignified by the name of arbitration. We understand by

arbitration that the tribunal has a discretionary power over the matter of dispute submitted.

It would be a farce in the administration of justice if the judge were to instruct the jury that they had full and entire control as to finding the facts of a case, but that they must accept the opinion of the court as to such facts. This is precisely the case in point, under the companies' recent proposition of arbitration.

They say to the men — "we will arbitrate our differences if you will forthwith resume work upon our terms upon the first of June; but such arbitration *shall not be obligatory* if the award imposes an increase of wages of more than three cents per ton." Such pretences cannot meet the approbation of the public even, much less the miners.

I have thus endeavored to give a concise and intelligible view of the history of the great coal strike, which has been productive of so much evil, and have placed the responsibility of the consequences where I think they properly belong. And I may further state that a very large proportion of the business men of the entire coal region entertain the same view of the subject.

It is lamentable that the difficulty cannot be amicably adjusted; but it presents one of those vexed questions which ever will occur where capital boldly asserts its prerogative over labor.

The shareholders of these monster corporations

ought to know that the wealth and wonderful success which have crowned their efforts are the results of the toil and labor of the men who have been in their employment. Independent of this, they would not be in the position to dictate conditions that strike the mind as unreasonable and unjust; they should pay some regard also to the views and opinions of other gentlemen residing in the State of Pennsylvania, and engaged in the same occupation.

Is it reasonable for the annual producers of one-third of the coal of the mines to assume that their ideas and notions as to the proper rate of the miner's wages should overbalance the judgments of the representatives of the other operators who mine and ship twice as much coal as they do? Have they more light upon the subject than their associates engaged in the same branch of business? They see that the other coal-fields are in active operation; they know the standard of wages they have adopted; they know that peace reigns there, while about their own premises they see armed men.

If you do not choose to make a partnership with your men, then pay them as much as they are paid in the other coal-fields. This is all that your men ask of you. You say to them, "*we* will arbitrate the question of wages between *us*." This your employ es would accept; but you clothe your offer with conditions that

defeat the spirit and object of what is understood by the term. Arbitration is coupled with a discretionary decision of a dispute; but you rob the tribunal of its powers by putting upon it a restriction which makes you the umpire. This is a farce. There is not a miner who was in your employ on the first day of December last but would resume work upon the terms that the men are working upon in the other fields.

You may obtain a victory, but it will be barren of beneficial results. There are thousands of men who have been engaged in the production of the coal which you have annually sent to market, who understand the issue between capital and labor precisely as well as you do. They have as just an appreciation of the subject which divides you and them as the several gentlemen who daily surround your several boards of management. Because their social position may be vastly below yours, it is no reason why their rights and privileges should not be respected. Their poverty and destitution may in the end compel them to surrender. But men who have been subdued by coercive power, and who are under the impression that their rights have been violated, are not the men whom you can desire in your business.

Did your employés possess the authority to diminish your dividends thirty-three per cent. or to take that percentage from the value of your coal in mar-

ket, you would denounce it as rank oppression. By what other rule then can they measure your conduct?

The consumer of the article in which you traffic has an interest in the question. The immediate result of your reduction of wages thirty-three per cent. was the cause of advancing the price of coal in New York, during the past inclement winter, from \$5.00 a ton to \$18.00! The act was felt and realized by untold numbers in the great metropolis. The men, and women, and children of the tenement houses of that great city, if put upon the witness stand, could relate a tale of woe and suffering by no means in justification of the cause which produced their afflictions. The fireside is sacred; but the price of fuel during the strike put it beyond the reach of the poor. The hearthstone was made desolate; the thirty-three per cent. off extinguished the embers.

Now, while it may be conceded that, under your co-operate powers, you may pass just such rules and regulations as may be in accord with your whims and caprices, there is a moral view to be taken of the results caused by such rules and regulations—a moral view as regards their effects upon the public, which will be criticised and closely examined. It will be for you to reconcile that public opinion which has received the shock.

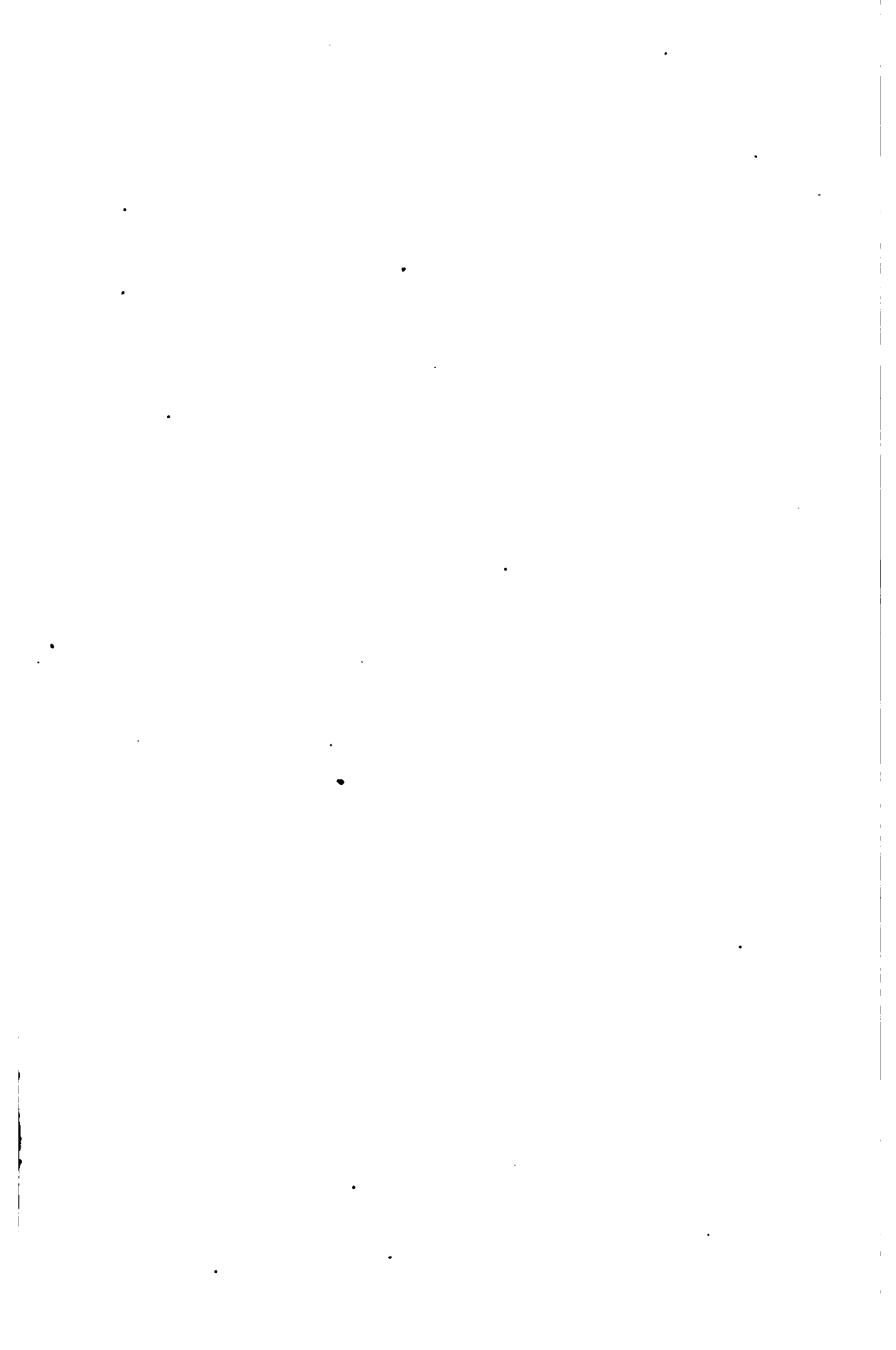
Your men did not suspend labor because they were

not paid properly, but because, without notice or warning, you abated one-third of their accustomed wages. You *cannot therefore say*, with honesty and sincerity, *that they were in the wrong.*

They are still out of employment, and the measured tread of the armed sentinel resounds through the thin casements of their humble dwellings. Such an argument may answer the purpose, but it has been one heretofore unusual in this government. Thirty-three per cent. off from wages has made a revolution in the coal trade, and among the coal men of the country; and so did a tax upon tea make a revolution, though upon a larger scale; and probably before the troubles end the great public voice will have something to say upon the subject. Yes, PUBLIC OPINION may yet become an umpire *whose decision will be final and conclusive.*

THE END.







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